



**SOME MATERIALS FOR SOCIAL EDUCATION
OF TRIBALS IN EASTERN INDIA**

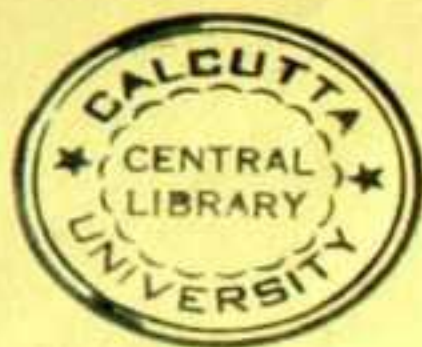


SOME MATERIALS FOR SOCIAL EDUCATION OF TRIBALS IN EASTERN INDIA

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PREFACE

The Manual entitled *Some Materials for Social Education of Tribals in Eastern India* has been prepared at the request of the Ministry of Education, Government of India, with funds provided by them. The manuscript of the Manual was submitted to them on 12th February, 1960.

For Santals, I have drawn mainly on my own field-data ; but some of the folk tales collected by late Dr. Boddington are common and I have preferred to use these, as known in all the Santal areas. Some fresh data in the way of songs collected by the research scholar Sri Gauranga Chattopadhyay, M.Sc. (now M.Sc., D.Phil.), has also been used. For Mundas, Sri Trigunayata has been kind enough to permit me to use some of the songs and tales collected by him. For processing the tales, after I had selected them, the help of one of our research scholars, Sri Surendra Kumar Navlakha, M.Sc. (now M.Sc., D.Phil.), was taken. An educated Munda youth has corrected the language of stories in Mundari. A few songs common among Mundas and published by late S. C. Roy in his monograph, and also noted by me have been included owing to their value as material for social education. The English translations of Roy being admittedly very 'free', I have replaced them by my versions in English. Incidentally, all the English translations, free or otherwise of the songs are by me. For the Hos, a number of songs and tales were collected by Sri Gauranga Chattopadhyay along with his own researches, and a few songs were noted by me ; these have been utilised. A portion of an animal tale common among Hos and another well-known song which were noted and have also been published in Prof. D.N. Majumdar's work on Hos entitled *Affairs of a Tribe* have been included. I have noted a different version of this animal tale in Ho language collected in another version by Sri Majumdar. The English versions are mine and the song is common. The Sora data has been collected by a research worker Khwaja Abdur Razeq, M.Sc., by several visits to the Sora villages in the hills round about Gumma.



Thanks are due to Miss Munro for giving lessons in Sora language to this research worker and also for helping in translations. Even so, the transcription of Sora songs in Roman script by Razeq leaves something to be desired. But unless these are included, the social worker in the area will not be able to utilise them. As he will have to learn Sora language, necessary corrections can be made locally by him, on the basis of the faulty transcription included in this Manual. Sora versions of only two tales have been included, as the other tales will be found in the *A Manual of the Sora Language* by Rao Saheb G.V. Ramamurti. For the Lepchas, a few of the tales collected in English by Beauvoir-stocks have been adapted. The Lepcha versions have been supplied by Sri Daksing Lepcha, a retired school teacher made available through the kindness of Sri A. R. Bose, Principal, Janata College, Kalimpong. Some recent material about their social and economic condition was collected by Sri Gauranga Chattopadhyay. A small amount of material was also collected among Rajbangshis of one area in Jalpaiguri; but this has not been included as there are several sections of this social group with somewhat different customs. An introduction regarding social education and a few sample lessons in Santali to indicate how the material should be utilised have also been included. Indications have been given in the case of some of the other material as to how the same are to be utilised. In other cases, it is hoped, the social worker will exercise his ingenuity for this purpose. The Government of India have granted permission to have this work published by the University of Calcutta, and the authorities of the University have also kindly agreed to do so.

Calcutta

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY

18th July, 1960.



Some Materials for Social Education of Tribals in Eastern India

INTRODUCTION

In the First Five-year Plan, it is stated that "the concept of Adult education which was mostly confined to literacy was found to be too narrow to meet the various needs of the adults. It was, therefore, widened to include in addition to literacy, the health, recreation and home life of the adults, their economic life, and citizenship training ; and to denote this new concept, the term social education was coined. Social education implies an all comprehensive programme of community uplift through community action. External aid may be there but only to stimulate, not to replace community effort".¹

The objective set out by the Planning Commission in regard to this new concept of Social Education, is really an extension of the idea of relating education to life activity of the people to be educated. A person lives the type of life by which he earns his livelihood. For an adult it can be ensured that his mind will be stimulated and he will take the initiative in action in his community only if his cultural training can be integrated with the content of his usual life. Otherwise he will not think nor have adequate incentive to study and to work.² The device of compulsion adopted for young children, it is needless to add will not be appropriate here. As a famous social educator of over a century ago pointed out, the positive knowledge that adult education institutions may give to the students may not be extensive ; their object should be to enable pupils to return to their daily work with a deeper understanding of human life and its problems.

Examination of the culture of simpler folk all over the world shows that the man-made environment which we refer to as human culture developed on the basis of socio-economic co-operation. Examples abound in proof of it, among hunters and collectors, shifting cultivators and also among pastoral folk and settled agriculturists.

¹ The First Five-Year Plan published by Govt. of India, 1952.

² Our Education by K. P. Chattopadhyay, published by The National Council of Education, 1946.



This co-operation acts in two ways, extending in a given period over the social group and also over a spread of time along several generations of men. In this last case the family served at first as the centre for handing down of traditions and traditional skills along with improvements effected, if any, in each generation. Elders who are repositories of greater knowledge are often entrusted with the training of the young from and after adolescence. This is sometimes done in organised camps and residences, where the village adolescents live and learn as future full members of their tribe. There are often grades, and training is given by those in senior grades to novices. But the principal form of education is of by doing, by graduated participation in the activities which have to be performed in adult life. Such participation is not in model or artificial "practising centres" but in the actual festivals, functions, and ceremonies of their tribal village and larger group. A great advantage of this method of training is that the children are aware of the purpose of learning, and that it fits them up for being proper members of their tribe. Special skills may be acquired in Arts or Primitive Science in some of the more advanced type of such institutions (as found in West Africa for example)². In all cases, whether it is the ordinary equipment that will entitle a man to be treated as if he graduated for just an ordinary membership of the tribe, or the higher training that brings honours or respect as a master, the trainee can see directly the purpose of the course of education. Hence at no stage, the primary, the middle or the final is there any question of driving a man to learn the minimum that is expected of him. He has to learn to do things and to do them adequately. He has grown up to accept these requirements and he knows that he will have to do his bit in society. Otherwise society will not help him. For the advanced training that will bring honours, there is naturally, deliberate choice. If a man wants to reach a particular position of eminence in society he tries to take recourse to such training as he thinks will help. With regard to tribal folk in our country, the objective is to retain the best traits in their culture and at the same time to raise the level of their material and general culture, so as to integrate them in our nation with its multifaceted civilisation. This

² Presidential address by K. P. Chattopadhyay. West Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference, 1957.



has to be borne in mind in planning social education of the tribal folk subject to the principles enunciated earlier.

The vocabulary in use in villages is limited ; it is the same in tribal areas. Certain words and phrases, recur again and again due to the daily or at least frequent need of discussing certain objects and actions in the course of their normal life. Certain songs and tales form part of their traditional store, to be sung in ceremonies or told on occasions. For adult education, the frequently used words and phrases, and the familiar ideas should come in the earlier lessons. Songs appropriate to some of these lessons may be used for group singing in connection with either the lesson, or the type of activity to which the lesson refers—such as ploughing the ground, sowing, and reaping or about hunting. A few such model lessons and linked songs and tales are given in the case of Santals. These follow a brief note on the geographic as well as cultural background of this tribe. For the other tribes no model lessons are given but only the note on the tribes and some songs and tales.



OUR TRIBAL FOLK

THE SANTALS

The tribal population of the Indian Union numbers well over 22 millions. This large population may be classified by language into three groups, consisting of (a) Austroasiatic, (b) Dravidian and (c) Tibeto-Chinese families of speech.

The Santals are the most numerous of the first mentioned group. Their largest numbers are to be found in the uplands of Western Bengal, in the adjoining Chotanagpur plateau, in the district known as Santal Parganas, and in the former states of Orissa now integrated to the State of Utkal. A fair number work also in the tea gardens of Assam.

The Santals number nearly nine lakhs in West Bengal and are concentrated largely in the Jhargram Subdivision of Midnapore district and Sadar Subdivision of Bankura district in this State. In the Santal Parganas, a district formed early in the last century by lopping off portions of Birbhum and Murshidabad in Bengal and Bhagalpur in Bihar, there is a reserved area where this tribe live with special rights. Their number in the district as a whole (now known as Dumka) is about a million. Their total number in undivided India was over two millions and five hundred thousand. In the Indian Union their number is now about the same.

The tradition of origin of the Santals make it clear that they were once hunting and collecting folk; but their exogamous clan organisation developed when they learnt how to grow food. At first they practised shifting cultivation which they term Dahi, in the upland areas. Later they learnt settled agriculture and irrigation of rice land from their Hindu neighbours. In the historical period, after they had well organised clans, they entered the Hazaribagh plateau by the passes on the west of this hill range, and lived for many generations in this area watered by many rivers. This land of Chae and Champa figure in many of their tales and songs. Disputes with other tribal folk seem to have led to their dispersal from this area, from which they came out some following the course of the Damodar



river, and others skirting the plateau to the north. They settled in the Bankura Sadar and in the Jhargram Subdivision; some also went across the Ranchi plateau to Manbhum district and to adjoining states of Orissa. Settlement in the Santal reservation formed in the last century is recent and occurred from some of these areas of older Santal domicile.

The Santals live mainly by agriculture and agricultural labour. A small number who have received higher education have taken to various professions; a slightly larger number of Santals work as teachers, mostly in primary schools. Although hunting is unimportant now as a source of food supply, the Santals love this ancient occupation of their tribe. They have several festivals connected with the traditional hunting practices. The old sources of food supply from the forest produce, especially from the Sal tree (*Shorea Robusta*), of which the leaves serve to make their cups and platters, are also linked with such festive cycles. The Baha Bonga held when Sal flowers begin to bloom has a hunt festival attached to it. In summer they used to have a great hunt. Formerly this was also the time to set fire to forest areas for shifting cultivation. The Santal like many other people loves to live according to his traditional ways, and under his own village officials. For this reason he sets up a separate village where possible, or if this is not possible, he lives in a separate hamlet. The Hindu castes do likewise in multicasite villages and live each in its own *para* or neighbourhood. The Santal village falls into two parts. I. (i) the sacred grove—the Jaherthan where reside their deities Jaher Era, Marang Buru, others. Jaher Era is the deity of agriculture. Her symbol is a winnowing fan; at certain festivals this deity enters into the body of a devotee, according to Santal belief, and that person then carries a winnowing fan. Marang Buru really means great mountain and is the god of hunting. There is also the old naeke who is the priest of the gods. "Else" say Santals "how will they worship"? (ii) The Manjhi than, where there is a raised platform with a shed over it. Here a stone is put for each ancestral headman up to usually the fourth one, and their spirits are supposed to reside there. II. The residential portion. In the residential part, the huts generally stand in two rows facing each other with a wide lane running between them. Behind the huts are kitchen gardens. The fields lie outside the



village site. The village may, as it grows, split into several hamlets, and more than one lane of huts may also be formed.

Santals' huts are usually rectangular in ground plan with mud walls, and a thatch of grass or straw. The front room which is the main living room, never faces the lane. The dwelling has to be entered from the lane through a door or opening along the prolongation of the outer wall of the front room into the courtyard. In the old days this room had no windows but nowadays this is changing. The number of huts in a Santal house has been shown by the present writer to increase with better economic condition to ensure more comfortable living. Formerly the Santals used only Sal leaf cups and platters; but now brass and aluminium utensils are also used. Modern food, and drink, like tea have also reached them.

Social Structure and Customs

The Santals are divided into a number of exogamous clans which are termed parist. They are like our gotras and there is a tradition of descent of each clan from one brother or a number of brothers born of Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi their original ancestor and ancestress. The principal clans are (1) Murmu who are equated to priests and called Murmu Thakur, (2) Kisku who were rulers (= Kisku rapaj i.e. raj), (3) Hembrom who were noblemen (Kuar), (4) Marandi, landholders (Kipisar = Kisar), (5) Soren, warriors (Sipahi), (6) Hasdak and (7) Tudu who drum (Mandariya) at dances. There are two less numerous clans Baske and Besta. There are also two inferior clans Paunria and Core now rarely met; and mixed Santals known as Bediya Santals in some areas and by other names elsewhere, not accepted in the tribe.

Ceremonies :

When a child is born, the whole village as also the house of the family where birth occurs, require purification. No festival can occur in the village until this ceremony is performed. The midwife cleans the mother and child and also bathes herself. Then the rites are performed. Formerly all village adults used to turn up and were sprinkled with rice flour solution at the purification rite which takes place often on the day of the delivery and sometimes a few days later. The



custom varies in this respect in Orissa from Santal Parganas where Bodding's book incorporating one variant, of it, has become a sort of standard ritual for Santals in Bihar. Naming occurs a few days later; it is usual for a first child, if male, to take the name of the father's father. If it is a girl child, the name of the father's mother is given to it. The grandparent concerned makes gifts to the child and also other presents of food and drink. Relatives are invited. The birth pollution brings out the essential unity of the village. The entity of the family is at the same time well recognised. As the child grows up into a toddler, another important rite, the *cacho chatiar* has to be performed. Until this is done the child does not become a full member of the tribe. There is no fixed age for it; it may be celebrated for several children together. In any case it has to be performed before marriage like the sacred thread ceremony among twiceborn Hindus, among whom also one does not become a full member of the caste until this ritual is performed. The village priest and headman are notified, relatives and friends invited and after a simple ritual there is offering of drinks, followed by song and dance. All these ceremonies are abbreviated nowadays. As children grow up into adolescents parents begin to think of their marriage. In the orthodox type of marriage the parents of the boy appoint Raibars or go-between like the *Ghataks* in Bengal to look out for a suitable girl. When this has been done, and the girl's father agrees, visits are paid by each side to the other's house in turn and preliminary gifts are exchanged on one such occasion to signify that the marriage is finally arranged. Later a small amount of money is paid to the bride's father and the date of marriage notified. A few days before marriage sheds are erected near the house in the village of the bridegroom as well as of the bride, and certain rites are performed. One is turmeric rubbing. First of all the Naeke, the priest-headman of the village and his wife sit on a mat and are rubbed with oil and turmeric by three unmarried girls. Next other officials and their wives in order of precedence as also senior relatives like the father's elder brother and his wife are so treated. Finally the parents have to undergo this ritual and then the bridegroom (and the bride in her village) is so rubbed. The bridegroom and his party accompanied by their headmen then start from their village for the bride's place. On their arrival a mock resistance is put up by a party of men from the bride's village. The two headmen now intervene and settle the



pretended dispute and the party now go dancing to the village lane. Here the bridegroom has to visit each house and be ceremonially welcomed there, before coming to the bride's house. The essential rite of marriage consists in the boy smearing *sindur* thrice on the forehead of the girl, who is held aloft in a basket by brothers and cousins of the bridegroom. The boy himself usually sits on the shoulder of his sister's husband, to reach the girl. After being fed, the party take farewell and return to the boy's village, where the newly married pair has to visit each house and be ceremonially welcomed before reaching the boy's house where his mother also greets them in the same manner. Numerous other rites come before and after this. But these are the essentials of marriage; and there is a good deal of dance and song and serving of drinks (*handi*) as refreshment. It will be evident that in marriage of a boy or girl the unity and entity of the village is brought out at the ceremonial. Poor people often do away with many of these details especially elaborate preliminaries and also the visit to the girl's house by the bridegroom's party. The girl is fetched to the boy's house and the marriage occurs there by simple marking with *sindur*. In Mayurbhanj this has now become the usual form. Sometimes a boy and girl who have fallen in love, run away. But if they want to return to the village, a fine has to be paid (now not always realised) and a simple ceremony performed. Occasionally a boy may force a girl into marriage by smearing *sindur* marks on her forehead in presence of other people, when she has come perhaps to a fair or to fetch water from the village well. In old days, this "itut" marking led to sharp retribution by the bride's family and villagers; but the penal part of this mode of marriage has now died out, mainly due to the fact that law courts discourage such action. Only, if the boy is caught redhanded he gets a thrashing. On the other hand a girl to whom a boy has made love but later cooled off, may force him to marry her by entering his house in a particular manner, in presence of witnesses. The boy's mother may abuse her and persecute her (but not lay hands on her) and if the girl can put up with it, she stays as a daughter-in-law. This custom is not peculiar to Santals but is found among several other tribes of Chotanagpur and old Madhya Pradesh.

After marriage the bride goes to live with her husband, unless by previous agreement the husband stays in the girl's father's house. This happens usually if the girl's father has no sons. Such a husband is



termed ghar-di-jawae. The first son is in such a marriage named after the mother's father.

Property is inherited by sons and in their absence by brother's sons among Santals. Daughters do not inherit in the absence of brothers. But by previous arrangement with his agnatic kin, a man may settle his house and some part of his land on his daughter and ghar-di-jawae. The daughter's son eventually gets these. Santal opinion in general, it was found in a survey some fifteen years ago was not in favour of change in the law of inheritance so that daughters might inherit the entire property when there are no sons. The reason for this reluctance lies in the Santal funeral customs.

After death, cremation is usual. A few of the calcined bones are collected and later ritually thrown into a river. But in the Santal Parganas, under Christian influence, burial prevails in many areas. Here a snippet of hair and pieces of nails of the toe and fingers are kept as substitutes for the bone. The corpse is buried after touching it with fire, evidently to symbolise cremation.

After cremation the spirit of the deceased is called back to his house. He enters into possession of some one, later, according to Santal belief and signifies what actions would please him. The pieces of bone (or their substitutes) are kept in a small earthen pot under a mohul tree or hung up in the cowshed. After harvest these are ceremonially consigned to the water of a river preferably Damodar. The formal journey is known as 'Nai te Calak'. The word Nai literally meaning river, refers to Damodar but other rivers are also now-a-days used. An elaborate ceremony termed Bhandan accompanied by sacrifice of goats, sheep and pig is held sometime after the bone disposal. All these rites have to be performed by agnatic kin and are expensive. Hence the exclusion of cognate lines in ordinary Santal inheritance.

The Santal festivals are linked with their economic activities. First comes the Magh Sim. This is performed at the end of Magh just before the new leaves of Sal come out. No hunting or collection of Sal leaves for cups and platter are supposed to be done before this ritual and after the Sakrat. The Magh Sim marks the end of activities of the old year and the beginning of work in the new year. In the old days, when land was owned by the village and the families held it in usufruct, the villagers used to say formally



to the headman that they gave up their land, and the officials used to give up office formally. The land was given back to the families and the officials reappointed. But it seems that still earlier, land which lay fallow because a family had dwindled in numbers could be reallocated to families who needed more land, as among Mundas a little over a century ago. The villagers repaired the thatch of the Manjhi's house at this time for the services rendered by him as priestly headman to the village. This recognition of services rendered by return for the same is a characteristic feature of simple tribal economy. The tradition of village rights in land and earlier practice of allotment according to need will be useful to the educator in building up agricultural co-operatives. The village unity as illustrated in social ceremonies may be utilised to reinforce these ideas.

When the Sal flowers bloom, the Santals have a hunting festival known as Baha bonga. In summer they used to have a Big Hunt by men of several parganas working together. Tribal cases involving judgement about excommunication were decided in the assembly of such men, after the hunt was over. In this sitting, all the men there were held equals. The adult franchise that prevails in our country can easily be understood by Santals in terms of their old political customs and has to some extent been utilised in elections. But here also the need of democratic awareness of what can be done, should be emphasised. For cultivation of grain, they have separate small festivals at the time of sprouting, of the growth of seedlings and of harvest. After harvest with food supply assured, the Santals relax and make merry somewhat tempestuously, in the Sohorai festival. After the merry making is over, the serious business of postfuneral rites previously described is taken up. The Sakrat festival comes about this time, on the last day approximately of Pous. An archery contest is held and the priestly headman is treated with honour. Merry-making predominates in this festival.

Mention has already been made of the sacred grove, the Jaher-than of the village and the Manjhithan. In all important social ceremonies, offerings are made at the Manjhithan, which is like the invocation to ancestors by Hindus at similar ceremonies. For village festivals, the deities of Jaherthan are given offerings. Every Santal household contributes to such offerings, and a common meal is taken after worship by the men. All this demonstrates the essential unity



of the village. Apart from these deities the Santal have under Hindu influence songs of worship about "Durgadevi" the goddess Durga of Bengali Hindus. Ram, Lakshman and Krishna also figure in the songs of Santals.

The Santal is generally a straightforward person, independence-loving and prepared to work hard for his living. He sharply resents unjust treatment and encroachments on his freedom to live according to his own way. The Santal rising of 1855 in the Damin area and later risings in Maldah and elsewhere owe their origin mainly to exploitation and unjust treatment by others.

Unfortunately, Hindu influence in the past has been too often associated with the money lender and oppressive landlords. The revolt of 1855 was directed against these men. Under British rule the needs of the tribals were recognised but very little was done for them. With the acquisition of Estates, and the introduction of genuine welfare work among tribals, after Independence, conditions have changed. With tactful handling of problems, this numerous tribe can be integrated into our nation, while retaining their individual valuable traits, especially of their strong feeling and expression of village unity.

Like many other early people of advanced culture as well as primitive tribes of modern times the Santals call themselves "men", or "Hor" in their own language. In the following model lessons the content of Santal culture, the traditions of Santals, their songs and folk tales are interwoven. Some more songs and tales are given thereafter.

LESSON 1—

Abo do hor jati ; ār hor do abo Saontār horko metābonā. Aboa roṛ do hor roṛ. Abo do sendrā bhāgibometā. Birre sendrā kate bir gel bo jomā. Sendrā lagit abo do ak', sar, borlam, tabla, kapi, tarwāre, khāṇḍa idiābo. Gelbo goc' koa ar tarop, banam. Sendrā begar abo do aḍi rokom paṣi, dharapte sim sapkoabo.

English Translation.—

We are hor folk ; the other men however call us Saontar folk. Our language is Hor speech. We love to hunt. Having hunted in forest we eat the flesh of game (killed). For hunting we take bow and



arrow, spear, axe, battle axe, sword and khanda. We kill deer and also tiger and bear. Besides hunting, we use many noose type and other traps to catch birds.

Note.—Khanda is a curved dao like sword used in Bengal.

Although the Santals love hunting, their women folk who are aware of its dangers often have misgivings about their dear ones who have joined the hunt. A song below notes how a young Santal wife feels nervous about her husband who has gone to the Sendra. She asks her Kumang (father's sister's husband) to look after him. Among Santals a girl is very friendly with this relative. At the end of the Lesson No 1 this song may be sung.

The song of the hunt—the girl says

Sarjom patange cirākāte
Disom parganā jaorā-kāte
Dolma buru birko girāket
Gete iū, Kumang, Sāote do iditorāema.

Translation—

The bark of Sal has been torn
The pargana of the land his message hath sent
By knots of the bark, on a day at morn,
On Dolma hill, to its forest to wend
Oh Kumang, keep my beloved with thee.

The man sings back—

Jate jate eal saram
Jate jate kul bana
Hoꝛ do, Kumang, balige do.
Ukun, Kumang, bae badae do
Sāote do oho idile.

English Translation—

So many kinds of sambar and deer,
In the forest are so many tiger and bear
A man is there like a child
In the scrub of the wild,
I do not know where to hide.
How can he, with me abide?



Note.—After the hunt, the game killed was divided. One portion was set apart for those households who due to illness of adults or due to death had been unable to send a man to participate in the hunt. This safeguarding of the needs of those unable to join owing to inability can form a starting point for a talk on co-operative activity for common welfare. For fishing there is a similar custom noted in the lesson below.

LESSON 2—Hako Sap

Hako sãp ho raska kami. Baiharre,
bandre ar batre abo hako sapkoa.
Mundu re ar batre toradang, pãtã
noako, oðsoabo. Ato sima bhitrire
naire, joto ato hoj jaorãkãte
hakobo sapko. Nuku hako joto ato
hoj bo hatin koa.

English Translation—Fish catching

Catching fish is also pleasant work. In pools, tanks and also in (waterfilled) cultivated fields, we catch fish. In small streams and in fields we use toradang, paia (traps). In a river within the village boundary, all village folk assemble and catch fish together. Every villager used to get a share of the fish so caught.

Note.—The Santals have no songs about communal fishing. Bodding has noted in his collection of Santal tales, the well-known story of the fisherman who wanted to sell his catch for a hundred blows. This is adapted and noted below in English. The version in Santali will be found in Santal Folk Tales, Vol. II, P.O. Bodding, Oslo, 1927.

THE FISHERMAN AND THE SENTRY

English Version—

There was a king who had a sentry. Whenever anyone came to sell anything whatsoever to the king, he would say to him "whatever price you get for this thing you have to give me half. Only then shall I let you go in to the king. But if you refuse to pay me, I shall not let you enter".

Once a Keot (fisherman) caught in his net a very big fish. He thought he would go and sell it to the king. So he went, taking it.



But the sentry at the door said, "you will have to pay me half the price you get for the fish". The fisherman said, "Eh, baba, let me have the full price of the fish. I implore you to let me off this time." But the sentry refused to listen to him. So the fisherman turned over in his mind thus, "If I do not sell the fish now, it will go bad". Having thus thought over it, the poor fellow agreed to share half the price. Now he entered inside and went to the king. The king asked, "For what have you come? He replied "I have brought the fish; please pay the price for it". The king said, "How much is the price of this fish"?

The fisherman said, "Ah raja saheb, the price of this fish is a hundred blows with a stick."

The king said, "Hullo fisherman, what is the price you have asked? I have lived long but never have I heard such a thing". The fisherman said, "Whosoever comes to sell anything to you here, the sentry at the door does not allow him to enter. He tells them, 'You agree to pay half the price you get for this thing to me and then I shall let you go in'. Today also being unable to get in without agreeing to share half the price, I have fixed such a price." Having heard this the king became angry and had the sentry given a hundred blows with a cane and then dismissed from service.

Note.—The need of exposing official corruption should be stressed.

LESSON 3—

Sadaere abo do ghutu badre dahi
 Cas-e kanabo tabekana. Pahil do
 birre bad lagit raban din darego
 mak'keda. Tayom do atar samarkea.
 Serma dak' lekhane onakobon silahut kia.
 Dahi cas do Iri Gundli ar do
 ghutuhoro Dahi cas; do bochor
 bochor ban hoyuk' hotete, bar
 pe serma aragak' ako.

English Translation—

In former times we used to perform dahi or dry cultivation on upland fields. At first in the forest, trees were cut in the (selected) field. Then the branches to be burnt were cleared and collected (and burnt). When rainy season came, the soil was ploughed. Dry

cultivation was for Iri, Gundli and also for upland paddy. But dry cultivation of Dahi type cannot be done (on same field) each year. The land has to be fallow for two or three years.

Note.—Here the teacher may say—In your tale of origin after men had been born, it is said (abridged version is noted and only about a part).

STORY :

Manwi sirjan tayomt*, Pilcu Haram ar
 Pilcu Budhi tahēna. Ado unkin janam-
 ket koakin gidra, kurihō, korahō.
 Ado onkoko bamsako bārhaena
 Ado nonkan gidrako rengec'ko rak'kea.
 Un johok sōra hoṛ dahiko mak'kea.
 Ado iṛi gundliko erkeako. Erket
 kbanko murum enga-e joma. Adoko
 etet keako berhae dharete. Ado uni
 Murum enga don paromkate jomkeae.
 Ado nuku hoṛko nēlkeda. Nēlketkhanko
 sulako bitkea. Murum enga heckate
 Sulake don paromkea. Paromkate jomkea.
 Jombienae dohoṛae donkea, bae parom
 dareaka. Sulak'tina danae bajaoena.
 Bajaoen khane nuku hoṛko senkate berhaoko
 nōl acurkeda. 'Noa sulakte bajaoakana. Panja-e
 abon'. Nondeko jaoraena. Ado sereñ :—

SONG : Okā birte boloen sal saram panja
 Oka birte soṛoen murmu enga panja
 Sin birte boloen sal saram panja
 Mat birte soṛoen murum enga panja.

English Translation—(words in brackets are explanatory)

After creation of human beings, Pilcu Haram and Pilcu Budhi stayed together. They had children, daughters as well as sons. Their progeny increased in numbers. Now these children were hungry and cried. (So taught by Singbonga) the grown-ups cut forest for Dahi cultivation. They planted Iri, Gundli. As the seedlings came up, a Murmu deer (Nilgal) ate them. So the field was enclosed by fencing.



But the Murmu deer jumped across and ate it. The men saw it and then put up spears (at an angle in the earth where the deer was in the habit of jumping over the fence). The deer came again and jumped over these. But having eaten its fill, it jumped but could not go over. The spears hit its side. The men having come (later) saw the marks by the fencing—"It has been hit by the spears. Let us follow its tracks". So they assembled. The song runs

In what forest enter the track of sambar and deer
In what forest go the mark of the Murmu deer
In Sin forest are the track of sambar and deer
In Mat forest enter the track of the Murmu deer.

LESSON 4—

Gahir badre do bochor bochor hoꝛo cas
boyuk'a. Baꝛ paꝛagkate, dec'kate
calao ruaꝛkate, erok boyuk'a. Hoꝛo
kaꝛhān dela dele surki bachaiabo.
Ona tayom kaꝛhānabo, chiriabo.
Argom tayom herhet abo. Herhetre
herhet sereñ. Kuꝛihopon sereñā :—

English Translation—

In wet fields every year cultivation of paddy is done. Having ploughed the field once, crossploughed it and again done so, sowing is done. When the paddy (seedlings) are nearly ready for thinning, we clear weeds. Then thinning with the implement, argom is done. After this comes weeding by hand. At weeding such songs are sung. Girls sing at weeding.

A WEEDING SONG :

Tāhāra Tāhāre tū nānā
Tārāna Tāhāre Tahare
Nayogo naꝛe talar noꝛak tin do
Nayogo kedar tala duꝛar tin do
Nayogo Juminange duk tin do
Nayogo Juminange bipad tingo
Nayogo gutikoꝛae halañ lidiñ
Nayogo Kaꝛmikoꝛi nātān lidiñ
Nayogo Juminange duk tin.



Note.—The boys and girls working in the field have found a crab and taken it. The song is the lament of the crab. Only the first half of the song is given. The preamble needs no translation as it is the usual "Tarana" of our music.

English Translation—

Oh mother, under the sill, of the house
 Oh mother, away from under the door
 Oh mother, I am in pain so great
 Oh mother, the pain and in danger great.
 Oh mother, the worker lad seizes me
 Oh mother, the working lass takes me
 Oh mother, in great pain am I etc.

Note.—There is a much longer weeding song given at the end.

LESSON 6—The village in old times.

Sedaere abo supuluo' kate bon tahēkana.
 Okoe atoko sakilea, unko oṛak'do
 Naeke Majhibo metakoa. Unire sohot
 lagit Paranaik-e tahena. Abo lapai
 lagit do Goretge menae-a. Ar, hārā
 koṛa kuṛi lagit do Jogmanjhi ar
 Jogmanjhin erā. Noako katha lagit
 atorena nukugeko bichara.

English Translation—

In the old days we lived in co-operation well. Whoever founded the village, his house was of the naeke Manjhi. To help him a (deputy) Paranaek was there. For notifying villagers, a Goret was appointed. Also for growing up lads and lasses, there was a Jogmanjhi and also his wife (who was however not an official). For any cases (in the village) these officials held trial (and this was accepted).

LESSON 7—Marriage preliminaries

Koṛā gidṛa hārāyena. Apnār joto peṛakoṭhen
 laiābo, "De ho baha okakore cia alepe?
 Arak'ko berelok' kana". Unko aṛe ṭola
 Peṛahorko menruarkea "Hoi ho, cia akat
 geale". Ado mit tan Raebar sàbea. Uni



Raebar pera orakte senkateye, kuli
 barākate koraren apāt then hec' kateye
 metaea'', Nin din in nenda akowat koa''. Ona dinre
 jawāe apat, jawāe engat ar atoren
 mit bar hor, uni Raebar Saōte idikate sar sagun
 ūelte kuṛi atoren Manjhi Haṛam orāk'ko
 seterenā. Manjhi Haṛam orāk're durupenake
 ar baḥu kuṛi gidra engat apat orāk'khonko
 Manjhi buḍhi hohoagu kedea.

English Translation—

The boy is growing up. Friends and relatives are called together and asked "What are you doing about his marriage? The vegetables are not getting cooked". The assembled friends reply, "Yes, we are arranging". A Raebar (go-between) is appointed. The Raebar having gone to houses of friends, and enquired of them, comes back to the boy's father and says "Such a day I have fixed for the visit". On that day, the father of the boy, the mother of the boy, and one or two men of the village, accompanied by the Raebar proceed, observing omens (on the way) to the house of the Manjhi of the girl's village. They will sit in the Manjhi's house and the Manjhi's wife will call from the girl's house, her mother and father.

Note.—The boy's party may go to the Jogmanjhi's house if more convenient. The practice noted above is more usual in Oriassa.

More Songs

Songs sung at time of cultivation, weeding etc. Most of the Santals outside Santal Parganas, it should be remembered, are agricultural labourers working on fields belonging to others.

1. It is morning and time to go to work—

Kukura ma daki gelo,
 Manjura ma hanki gelo
 Uthosere nāmka raya
 Colosere nāmka raya
 Pital huka dburi kari
 Kulhi, kulhi Kaminejo khoja hoe.
 Upar kulhi ma Cali ailo
 Namo kulhi ma buli ailo



Goḍ-e hī ache nāmki
Alta hi ache go
Alta hī kadore lotai

The cock has crowed, the peafowl screeches.
Get up so-and-so, lord of land
Move along so-and-so lord of land
Smoking your hukka of brass.
Going along the path out of the village
Keeping an eye on the work girls he moves.
Along the upper path he has gone
Now down the lower track he moves
His wife also has come
On her feet are *āltā* marks
The *āltā* marks are lost in mud.

Note.—Hukka = smoking kit termed hubble bubble

Alta = Lac dyed cotton used to stain purple the feet of married Hindu women.

2. PLOUGHING—The usual Tahare etc. is sung as for the earlier Herhet seren under lesson 5. Next comes the song proper.

Phala jo phurā-ite, nāmka rāya
Phālā jo joraite nāmka rāya
I māṭi sāloi māṭi
I māṭi tamilaya hoje

English Translation—

To fix the share, Oh lord of land
To fit the plough, Oh lord of land
This earth of clayey soil
To drive in hard and punish

3. SOWING—

Theka dhoroge nāmka
Tunki dhorohē
Theka dhoroge nāmka
Tunki dhorohē
Eka mutha hi cālom
Duire mutha, tine mutha hi calom
Lela capilmara hoje.

*English Translation—*

Hold the basket of paddy, so- and- so
 Hold the small basket,
 Hold basket of paddy, so-and-so
 Hold the small basket
 One handful have I sown
 Two handfuls, three handfuls I sow
 Now they are covered up.

4. THE LANDLORD OVERSEES THE SOWING—

Paṛi Paṛi bunalom nāmka raya
 Kon paṛi āson māṛailo
 Hān-karaho nāmka raya
 Dakaraho nāmka raya
 Bulanpaṛi ason māṛailo

English Translation—

We have sown in the furrows, Oh lord of land
 On which side of furrows his seat?
 He is shouting, the lord of land
 He is calling out, the lord of land
 His seat is on the side
 Where ploughs had turned.

5. WEEDING—

Kaṣi jo phuligelo, kaṣijo uṛigelo
 Uṭhohe nāmka raya, colo he nāmki dei
 Dhāna ho kāndase, dhāna ho bāchiboje

English Translation—

The Kasa reeds have flowered
 The flowers have blown away
 Get up lord of land, get up lady
 The paddy plants are weeping
 For there will be weeding.

Note.—In weeding, a number of plants are torn out. So the plants lament in anticipation.

6 and 7. After harvest the landlord delays payment in kind.



The workers grumble—

6. THE MEN : Gaigotem gotketla, nāmka ho
 Bitkil joben jobekettle nāmka ho
 Deho nāmka ho, nāmka, yuder kaleme
 Nāmka ho, yuderkale me
 Ipil komako Tikinenho nāmka
 Candokomako laweren nāmka ho
 Deho nāmka, Ho nāmka, yuder kaleme

English Translation—

Like cows you have herded us together
 Like buffalos you have gathered us
 as in a swamp
 Give us so-and-so, it is time to leave
 Oh so-and-so, it is time to leave
 The stars of midday are coming over head
 The sun has gone down
 Give us, Oh so-and-so, it is time to leave

- THE WOMEN : Jhinga phul ma Phuti gelo
 Kuli āndhārāt girihā
 Kuli āndhārāt
 Paila hona khojaite
 Sonje porilo go
 Kongulin paila he lukae
 Nikai, nika, nika kamin
 Rani kajol dbān, kamin
 Rani kajol dban.

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English Translation—

The jhinga flower has bloomed
 The road is in darkness, Oh householder
 The road is dark
 To hunt the measure of grain
 (To give it) it became evening
 Where is the grain measure hidden?
 Ah clean, clean the floor girls
 It is ranikajol paddy.
 It is rānikajol paddy.

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A song about catching a fish in a trap and its sale (not communal fishing).

8. Utur dakhin, purub pachim
 Kāli megh jo uṭhaalom ge
 Sabornakha jelem jelem
 Jhimbiri jo yodalom je
 Seho jhimbiri bhitor bābā
 Poṛilo go ruhi citali māch
 Seho mācholi go bābā
 Keho nilo nai.
 Jāhār ghore yām gāch
 Tabār ghare Tital gāch
 Seho lok jō lite bosichon.

English Translation—

North and south, east and west
 The black cloud has risen
 The (river) Subarnarekha is in flood ;
 I have put down the jhimbri trap.
 In the jhimbri are caught
 Rohi fish and cital.
 This fish I could not sell
 For no buyers came.
 In the house with mango tree
 In that house the tamarind tree
 That man is now taking these.

Songs of Chacho Chatiar—

Kolean Guru recounted the following songs (Bodding's edition well known to Santals of Santal Pargana.

9. Haere, sirom gele do gelemen do
 Bocte amki do hoe busarlen do
 Haere, maray do bahalen do
 Babu amka do hoe janamlen do

English Translation—

Aha, the flower of Bena blooms
 My baby girl is born
 Aha, the Palas flower blooms
 My baby boy is born.



10. Dumke se dumero,
Miru hopon ho kare hopon
Dudbayo ho dud amka
Nār-golekinpe ho
Miru hopon ho kare hopon

English Translation—

Fat little ones
The fledgelings of parrot and magpie
Milk drinking baby girl and baby boy
Fetch them down these babies
The fledgelings of parrot and magpie.

The present writer found this ancient song (No. 11 below) also sung in Santal Pargana at Cacho Chatiar.

11. Muc' Ko dungu dungu do kana
Chapa kia baṛ latar darreko,
Dungu, dungu do kana

English Translation—

The (red) ants have spread, have spread;
In the banian tree they have spread.

In Mayurbhanj they sang—

12. Bandale, bandale, natiñakin bak do
Bandale, bandale, busaṛakin bherale do
Tokoe bandale natiñakin bak do
Tokoe bandale busaṛakin bher ale do

English Translation—

On the banks, on the banks, like cranes the two move
On the banks, on the banks like new hatched chick the two move
On what bank do the crane pair move?
On what bank do the pair of new hatched chicks move?

13. Okoe rācār hesak' dare
Kisniakin cero bero
Huhurakin lebhdatalin?

English Translation—

"In the Hesak' tree, in whose yard
Chatter (so much) the chick of Kisnibird
Chatter (so much) the chick of the Huhu bird?"



Note.—At the ceremony the songs No. 12 and 13 are repeated inserting the name of the parents, after first singing these in the form of queries. These songs are traditional. As noted before the participation of villagers and village unity as stressed in the rite may be the starting point of talks. The anxiety of parents as children grow up and become conscious of their adolescence, is indicated in the following song :

14. Song— Babu hārāyen tolong e nadaget'
 lū a mone do etak' rege
 Boe hārāyen narsite horasi dog dog
 Niū a mone do etak'rege

English Translation—

My son grows up.
 The tolong he discards,
 My mind is not at ease ;
 My daughter grows up
 The mirror the parting of her hair
 Clear reflects,
 In my mind I am not at ease

Note.—Talks on duties of parents towards adolescents may start from such a song. The tolong is a strip of cloth for small boys.

Marriage songs are elaborate and numerous. Some of the songs are critically abusive of the other party and these though traditional are left out.

15. Song of rubbing oil—

Hāte mākhaite, hāte cikhonā je
 Goṛe mākhaite goṛe cikhonā je
 Piṭhe mākhaite piṭhe cikhonā je
 Na jāni raikera telāgo
 Na jāni nām nuā gelo

Note.—The words are mostly Bengali, with a few Santal terms here and there. The practice seems to have been borrowed from Hindus.



English Translation—

Rubbing oil on arms, the arms shine
 Rubbing oil on feet, the feet shine
 Rubbing oil on back, the back shines
 I know not, rubbing mustard oil,
 I know not what new name goes.

16. Song of combing the hair

Muṛ jhar jhar, muṛ jhar jhar
Kakewa jo bhangī gelo, 'Yoge, 'yoge
Borer mā dos gandā kaṛi lio
Sarai kola bājārer kakewa kinianiḍe

English Translation—

The head is clean, the head is clean
The comb mother, is broken, Oh mother ;
The groom's mother take ten gandas of cowry
To Saraikola bazar and comb purchase.

17. Song of the balaya (fathers of bride and groom)

Tiṭoṇo ho tipi ṭoṇo, tipi ṭoṇo ḍakin nu nukan
 Bān kānākin ti ṭoṇo, bān kānākin tipi ṭoṇo
 Ayogo maka darea tālāre
 Balavakin jhulankate ḍakin nu nukin.

English Translation—

The bulbul bird, the bulbul bird,
 two of them are drinking
Not bulbul birds, not they are drinking
Oh Mother, in the deep sea
Swinging (together) the two in-laws are drinking.

Note.—The fixing of marriage is celebrated by the two fathers drinking and then dancing arm in arm. In this connection the value of temperate habits, while drinking a little home-made beer on ceremonial occasions, may be emphasised.

18. Song for guests :

Raca in 'jōjok' kan Kherec' Kherec'
Perako boloen tala racar
Saki taheime guā dare
Pango nūnidok, dugiket do

*English Translation—*

I sweep the yard Khr Khr
 Into the yard Friends come in ;
 Witness, oh areca palm !
 The tip is broken of the betel vine.

Note.—The “areca palm” designates the Manjhi Haram of the village. The girl is the betel creeper ; her freedom is now restricted, symbolically referred to as breaking the tip. In this connection see note 2 of song 20.

19. Song referring to guests :

Numin marang orakre
 Okoe halere sār-sāgun ket'
 Okoe halere sār-sāgun ket
 Rusikā ñelte, olonkā ñelte aletegele perāena

English Translation—

In such a big house
 Who has sar sagun made
 Who has sar sagun made
 Seeing the girl and ornaments, we have made
 ourselves guests.

Note.—The guests are derisively referred to as “gate crashers”. It is a kind of standard joke.

20. The bride's lament :

Si digir hiskī digir
 Cando-e raka pan
 Ipil-ba-e rakap len
 Goṛa mutul duṛre ghāṛoā rak' ket
 Cando nirmāyā ge

English Translation—

The dust from the plough, the dust from the plough
 The Sun has risen, the stars are gone
 At the door of the cattleshed, chirrup the sparrow
 Alas the Sun to me has no mercy shown.

Note 1.—The morning (of marriage) has come and the imagery is of light spreading like dust from plough. The girl feels sorry that she will have soon to leave her parent's house.



Note 2.—In the changing conditions of the present day, misfits in marriage are more likely to occur due to maladjustment. This song may serve as an introduction to a talk on mutual give and take as essential for happy married life.

Philosophic notes are sometimes struck in such songs. Thus

21. Jom abo, ñui abo, raskatebo tahēna
 Noa hāsā hormo, jiwi bān tahena
 Sāru sakam dak' leka jiwi do tolmol
 Setak' sisir dak' leka ban tāhena

English Translation—

We eat, we drink, so merry are we
 This earth made body, its life will (soon) not be
 Like a drop of water
 Trembling on a saru leaf
 Like morning dew, is life so brief.

Note—The last line is a translation of the sense and is not literal.

A mother's anxiety for a young lad away from home herding cattle in bad weather is reflected in the following simple song :

22. Hoe dak' ma jhupir jhipir
 Dare dak' ma laphak' laphak' do
 Nale bābu, nale bābu do
 Kututegego gai e gupikan.

English Translation—

Rain and wind, drizzle, drizzle
 Rain on trees drip drip
 My son, my son, his body bare
 With cattle is out to tend and care.

Note.—This may serve as introduction to a talk on care of children by the mother.

23. A girl laments that parents do not care to see that she gets married, although her youth is passing

Ionol gonol iusul pinḍa
 Tokoe halere duḥup tingunte?
 Nato koṛako bijukrema,
 Bābāge core ṭhenga-e nipil'do ;



Disom perako hijukrema,
 Nayo gecore durup bāg-oemen ;
 Nuihar lekhan bos do halere no-dom-calakhan

English Translation—

The raised seats that abut
 The outer wall of our dwelling hut
 That parallel lines on them so deeply mark,
 Who will there sit or stand ?
 A lad from village coming there (at dark)
 Meets my father holding stick in hand.
 To friends from other places who come to meet
 (with marriage talks) my mother offers not a seat.
 Like dreams of mind
 My youth departs I find.

Note.—Santal lads and laeses meet and mix freely and indulge in love making. It often leads to marriage. But the correct procedure is for the boy's folk to approach the girl's parents to ask for the girl's hand. The song expresses the aspiration of all Santal girls to get married and to settle down.

24. Santal love songs are scriptural in their directness.

Only one such song is noted below. The girl who is pestered by her lover is violently angry and says she will face death and the funeral pyre but not go to him.

Song : Ul bili hořmo, Bijo bo-e
 Soso bili Koram toa do,
 Noa hořmo, noa hořmo, tokoe lagit co ?
 Nām lagit ho, bān Sibān-ja
 Nin' lagit ho, bān, Sibān-ja
 Noa hořmo, noa hořmo sengel lagit go.

English Translation—

Bijo dear, your body like a ripe mango
 Your breasts like bbela fruit as ripe
 For whom waits this body, this body Oh ?
 Not for you, Sibān, this body mine
 Not for me, Sibān, this body(fine)
 To the flames, to burn, shall I let it go.

The next two songs centre round the tragedy of death.

In the song No. 17 the wife who expects a child asks her husband not to leave as she is feeling unwell. He says his parents are there and goes.

25. Wife: Nin' ma purus, nin' ma purus
 Nin' ma purus, in' ala sutak' kam
 Nam ma purus, Dolma buru
 Sendrām calak'-kan ;
 Tiri purus joton khon do
 Joton banuk do

Husband : Uni purus Bābā mena-e
 Nayo menae do
 Nin' do purus, nin' do purus
 Sendra — in' calak' kan

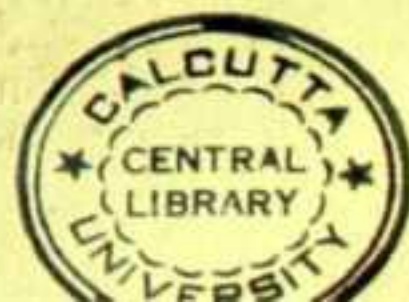
Wife : Nayo purus-e tahēho-co
 Babu purus-e tahē-hoco ;
 Tiri purus joton khon do
 Joton banuk do

Note.—The wife dies in his absence. On his return his parents ask him to rest and then inform him of the death. He regrets that he went away to hunt.

Husband (on Bābā mena-e hākādākāre
 return) Nayo mena-e duṛup sanghā-ore
 Nin' do purus, nin' do purus
 Dolma huru sendra in calak'kan

Mother ... Nak'-sar do dohokatam
 Dahri lugri bo-c'-katam
 Gharni babu, gharni babujae
 Sardi sengelen

Son ... Bahu doyo metadin'ge
 Sendra purus nalom calaho
 Tiri purus joton khon do
 Joton bānuk do.



*Translation :*

- Wife : Oh my husband in pain am I and ill ;
 Oh my husband in pain am I and ill ;
 Fare not forth my husband to hunt on Dolma hill
 For wife and man, for their mutual care
 With such love, no other can compare.
- Husband : My father in the house is there
 My mother will have you in her care
 Thy husband, a man am I, forth to hunt, let me fare.
- On return—
 Hasband : Father speaks to me, loudly calling
 Mother makes me sit, pulling my hand
 To Dolma Hill I went, telling
 (My wife) I am a man, thy husband.
- Mother ... Lay by your bow and arrow
 Put off your turban clothing
 Thy wife, my son, thy wife is no more
 On the funeral pyre she is burning.
- Son ... My wife to me did say
 My husband, go not to hunt today
 For wife and man, their mutual care,
 With such love, no other can compare.

Note.—A talk may be given about death in child bearing when adequate aid is not available, passing on to the improvements through maternity centers in community development work. The need of proper utilisation of such facilities should be stressed.

26. In this song a sick man who has gone to different Santal medicine men for treatment without improvement tries to console his wife as he dies. Only the first part of the song is given. It may form a starting point for talks on modern health measures.

- Sick Husband Disom disom in' asenkidin'
 Disom disom dārakēt do
 Bange, Samia, bange bhalolen
 Chat-kare jāpākate miet' dap
 Samia, alom joroetam
 Kupire sunum, Samia





Pitol mālire, dul me
 Caukathare nakic' Samia,
 Up do, Samia, nakic' katin' me
 Ar do Samia, nia nepelege

English Translation—

Far have I roamed, (my health to regain)
 To so many lands have I been
 Alas, alas Samia, it is all in vain.
 By the door, against the frame leaning
 Tears in your eyes, weeping, weeping,
 Cease thou, Oh Samia (mine).
 From the earthen pot, the oil
 In the cup of brass pour
 The comb from top of the door
 Take down and my tresses dress
 And now look at my face
 A last look, and in life never more.

27. Here is another philosophic song about life (collected in Midnapore District).

Noā mone' noā jibi
 Tere rese sutam rā doha katinga
 Monete āgiate bābā
 Monete bhābita
 Noa mone, noa jibi
 Ahiñg dahale.

Free translation—

This mind, this life
 Comes and goes like a thread on a spindle ;
 This thought let it sink in mind
 Let this thought be in mind,
 This mind, this life.

28. The Sakrat festival at the end of Pous has been mentioned. Here is a song of Sakrat (collected in Midnapore District).

Sange calibag, calibag
 Rasi kuli duarā bi bhāiā
 Suru rā dite bhāiā
 Ami boli bo go

*Free Translation—*

I shall with you go, with you go
 To the road, the door even of Rasi
 The refrain shall I sing
 I shall sing, ho.

29. Hindu influence is visible in the following songs sung at festivals (Midnapore District).

Rābon rājā bhikhā māngā Jugi beśe
 Bhikhe dite dite, Rabon hāte dhorilore
 Hate dhorī rathe cāpi mōn pobone ure

English Translation—

King Rabon asks for alms, dressed like an ascetic
 While (Sita) giving alms, Rabon catches her hand ;
 Catching her hand, he gets into the chariot
 And flies like the wind, with speed of wind.

30. The next song, also collected from Midnapore shows a reaction against Hindu influence, presumably due to dislike of Mahajans (money lenders) who are Hindus and to whom the poverty of Santals is ascribed—

Ram chili Sitā,
 Rabon gelo bonobāse:
 Kejāne Sitā
 Kejāne mitā
 Hae hae amiṇego peter cintāe agam jale.

Translation—

Ram was and also Sitā.
 She went to live in Raban's forest.
 Who knows about Sitā ?
 Who knows who are friends ?
 Alas, how to fill my belly
 In worry, like water up to neck I sink.

In Mayurbhanj, the influence of Vaisnav gurus is evident. The song below serves as an introduction to song and dance on secular occasions. There is synthesis with older traditions.



31. Bhāero re bhāero
 Chiṭa Kapra bhaero ;
 Bhaero re bhaero
 Hisi Dumuni bhaero
 Dharomero ākhāra
 Isorero māṇḍewā
 Gupi Kānhai nate jorale

English Translation—

Come out, Oh come out
 Chita and Kapra, come
 Hi-i and Dumuni come
 The dancing place of Dharma
 The dancing shed of Iswara
 Kanhai of Gopis has called us to dance.

Note.—Dharma is the sun god among tribal folk. Iswar of course is the Indian term for God. The names of the girls Chiṭa, Kapra, Hisi, Dumuni are of the ancestral sisters—

32. Rām mādol bājāe
 Kiṣṇu gito gāwāe
 Mohon murali bājāe
 Sulosoe gupini jomokebā nācegoe
 Mohon murali bājāe

English Translation—

Ram beats the drum
 Krishna a song does sing
 A melody he plays on flute, enchanting
 A thousand and hundreds six milkmaids go dancing
 So beauteous to the time of flute enchanting.

Note —Here Krishna and his brother Balaram are described like Santal youth at dances.

A whole category of songs known as Dasāe Seren' center round the Durga Puja of the Hindus of Eastern India.

Hāere, hāere, hāerē
 Dibire Durgā dokin noṛokenāre
 Dibire Durgā dokin baherenāre
 Bel butarekin noṛokenāre



Aorā korarekin baherenāre.
 Tete lagit dokin norokenāre
 Tete lagit dokin bahirenāre ?
 Sunum sindur lagitkin norokenare
 Āenom kājal lagitkin bahirenāre ;
 Des rege guruho sunum sindur do
 Disom rege guruho āenom kājoldo.

English Translation--

Alas ! alas ! alas ! Devi Durga, from our house
 Have we come, oh Devi Durga, away
 From the house near the bel tree
 Like orphan lads have we come away.
 Why have we come from our house, have we ?
 Why have we come out and away ?
 For oil and sindur have we left home
 For the collyrium for eyes have we come.
 For our land the oil and sindur, oh guru
 For our land the collyrium for eyes, oh guru.

In the old days Santals used to clear forests and cultivate land near to forests. - Small Kumbas which are light hemispherical huts were put up to watch crops at night. Stories were told to while away the time at night. Most of the current Santal folk tales have been published by Bodding in three volumes (Santal Folk Tales by P. O. Bodding) The present writer collected several Santal folk tales in Mayurbhanj, away from the area where Bodding worked. But these were found in slightly different forms in Bodding's collections. Hence, here only three tales are given in English. The detailed Santali versions will be found in Bodding's work. References are given for use by the teachers.

THE TREACHEROUS LEOPARD

Once upon a time a leopard living in a forest had been troubling the villagers living nearby, killing their cattle, and also women folk going to collect leaves in the forest. So the villagers decided to kill the leopard. Notice was sent round to the weekly fair, in the usual way by a twig of sāl and proclaiming the purpose,



On the fixed day large numbers of villagers assembled, and encircling the forest, began to shout, beat their drums and approach the inside of the area. The leopard was frightened. But how could he escape? There was a road through the forest, and several traders were going along it with goods in sacks. The leopard approached them and said, "Take out your goods from one of the sacks and put me in it. Thus hidden, take me out of the forest. Unless you do it, I shall kill you". The traders who had no weapons said, "But when we release you outside the forest, will you leave us, without killing us"? The leopard said "Yes, yes, yes" three times which is an oath. So the traders hid him and took him out of the encircling ring of villagers to safety. But when they let him out, the leopard said "Now, I am hungry. I shall eat you". The traders said "How is that? You promised to let us go away". The leopard did not pay heed. Now a jackal was passing and the traders appealed to him that the leopard was breaking his oath. They explained to him what had happened. The jackal did not like the leopard (as it kills and eats jackals) and pretended not to follow what was said. He said to the leopard "These men were in sacks and you came on them"? The leopard said "No, I got into a sack and came out of the forest". The jackal said "But the sacks carry goods. How can you be in them"? The leopard got angry, and asking a trader to hold a sack open, got into it, saying "It was like this". The jackal asked the traders to close it. The traders did so and then bit the leopard hard with stones till the leopard died.

Moral : Those who break their words meet a bad end.

Note.—The Santal story as collected by Bodding is more elaborate (Vol. I, pp. 10-19). The version in Santali may be consulted in his work.

A POOR MAN

Once upon a time there was a poor man who lived in a hut with his wife. They could just get enough food for themselves. Once they got a hen and some eggs and chicks came out of these eggs. So the man said "We shall work hard; when the chicken grow up we shall sell there. With that money we shall buy pigs; these will bring more money". The wife said "Yes I shall work hard, but don't you waste money on handi or in gifts to others (girls)". The



man said "No, I shall not". Both worked hard and as said before they got pigs, with the money from the sale of fowl. Later they got goats also and cattle and gradually became quite rich. But the man continued to sell all the fowl and pig and goat. He would not kill any of these for meat dishes for his house. There were now several children, boys and girls. They wanted to eat meat dishes. The mother asked the father to kill a fat capon; but he said "It will fetch good money" and did not agree. One day the man said "I will go to a fair to sell this goat; I shall come back in the evening". The mother killed a fat fowl and made meat cakes and the children ate happily. Some the mother kept for her husband. She said to the children, "When father comes, you admit this". Now the children did not understand the word and thought they were to bend forward and backward and side ways. (For this was the meaning of the word also in Santali). So when the father came home, the children began to bend forward and backward and side ways. He said "Hullo. What is this". But they went on doing like that, and laughed and jumped happily. So he asked his wife. The wife laughed and told him that she had killed a fowl, made meat cakes and fed the children. She had asked them to tell him about it saying "Latic" which they had understood in sense of bending and swaying. So the man laughed and went in and ate the meat cakes kept for him. Afterwards he was not so stingy with his family.

Moral: One should work to banish poverty and live in comfort, but should not lead a miser's life.

(Santal Folk Tales by P. O. Bodding, Vol. II, pp. 101-13.)

The Tale as noted by him is more elaborate. The version, in Santali may be consulted in his work.

THE TIGER AND THE BEAR

Once the Tiger and the Bear quarrelled. The Tiger said that the months of Paus and Magh were coldest; but the bear said "No, it is Sraban and Bhadra". Each held that he was in the right and went to a man who was walking near by, to judge. The tiger added, "If you favour the bear, I shall eat you". The bear said "If you favour the tiger, I shall kill you". The man said, "But if I judge fairly will you still kill me"?



They said "No, no, no".

The man said "Paus and Magh are not cold ; nor Śrabān and Bhādra. If a breeze blows the whole night it is cold. So in Paus and Magh if a breeze blows it is cold. In Śrabān and Bhādra, it rains and if it blows hard it is cold. Now in Paus, Magh, the bear having heavy hair on body does not feel cold ; you feel it tiger. In Śrabān and Bhādra the bear is soaked through and his heavy hair does not dry. So he feels cold. You do not get wet like that".

So the tiger and bear went away pleased.

Moral : People often quarrel about things without thinking. A little consideration of the other man's condition will often settle such disputes.

(Santal Folk Tales by P. O. Bodding Vol. II, p. 145-151).

The tale as noted by him is more elaborate. The version in Santali may be consulted in his work.

RIDDLES :—

At marriages, and also at informal gatherings when people sit together in the evening Santals amuse themselves by stating riddles which are termed Kudum and asking for solution. The convention is to say "Kudum Kuṛit Kuṛit". If the person asked fails to solve the riddle, the traditional form in which he confesses failure is "Gaṛ mā ṭhā ṭho, Okā birtem bola".

Translation : Tell me, the sound ṭhā ṭho (of cutting wood) in what forest dwells ? The person who has put the conundrum now mentions the name of some local forest. The defeated person says :

"Loṭā bārup baṭi bārup
Delān' buḍhi kumbāte giti
Setak' joṛā boda khete-in'"

Translation : "Turning upside down the water pot and cup
Let us go, Oh wife to our cottage.
To-morrow I shall slaughter a pair of he goats".

The idea is, the forest has been cleared ; let us build a hut (kumba) and live there.

The original questioner now gives the solution and explanation. A few riddles are noted below.



1. Gidra jokhak' bande
 Harā-kāte do gidi-kia

Translation : As a child clothed ;
 Grown up it is thrown off.

Solution : Bamboo

Explanation : The early shoot has a sheath covering the growing tip.
The full grown bamboo has no such covering.

2. Sin' do ko goṭoa, minda do ko udaroā.

Translation : In day time they came together ; they parted at night.

Solution : Body cloth

Explanation : The body cloth is put on in daytime and taken off at night time.

A number of other riddles will be found in the paper published on this subject by the author (Santal riddles : Journal of the Asiatic Society, 1955).



THE MUNDAS

The Mundas are another tribe of the same family of Austro-Asiatic speech as Santals. The Chotanagpur division of the State of Bihar is their present home. In the Census of 1901 their number in this area was 3,44,373. But they were settled also in the Manbhum district (now Purulia) of Bengal and had besides migrated to Assam tea gardens. Their total number in 1901 was nearly four lakhs and forty thousand. In Chotanagpur they are mainly concentrated in Ranchi district. Their population has been increasing and in 1941, they numbered over five lakhs in Behar State alone. More recent census reports do not note their numbers but over the whole of Eastern India their numbers are probably in the neighbourhood of seven lakhs.

The Munda speaking population of India represents a very ancient element in the population of our country and their terms for housetypes, agricultural implements and many objects, and details of some rites unmistakeably indicate ancient contact with Hindu culture.

The Munda dress is simple, a piece of loin cloth for the men and a short sari for women. More elaborate clothing, as also ornaments are worn on ceremonial occasions. At present, the dress used by the Hindu peasantry and bhadralog of the Ranchi area are becoming common among the Mundas, especially those who have been to school. Those who have received higher education cannot be distinguished by their dress from other educated Indians.

The Mundas are a skilled agricultural folk and practise irrigated plough cultivation. The main crop is rice, but millets are also grown. The Mundas have worked patiently for generations on their rolling country side in Chotanagpur to form terraced rice fields, by cutting shelves and levelling them. They have also built up embankments, to lead the waters of the hillsprings and streams for irrigation of these terraced fields. These achievements represent the willingness of Mundas to work hard and in cooperation, not only with families from their own village but of their villages as well, to attain their objective which in this case was of making excellent irrigated rice fields. In the hill area and uplands, much fishing cannot be done. The



EDUCATION OF TRIBALS IN EASTERN INDIA

Mundas have however a variety of traps and also some kinds of nets to catch fish in their streamlets. Mundari traditions suggest that in their earlier homelands, hunting and fishing were important sources of food supply. Bow and arrow, spear and axe are their main weapons of war and chase.

Household utensils of Mundas are simple. Wooden ladles and platters, leafcups, and gourd bottles to keep and carry water in, on journeys are all made by themselves. Earthen pots are supplied by Kumhars and iron implements by the blacksmith, both of whom come from the Hindu community. Cloth is woven by Muslim weavers generally. The staple food of Mundas is rice, with a little boiled sag, though families which can afford take boiled pulse (dal). Millets are taken during several months of the year when the rice supply runs short. As among other tribal folk, they take a light morning meal, a square meal at midday and another in the evening. The favourite drink is ili or rice beer. This is the case with other tribes also of this area.

Unlike Santal villages, Munda huts are huddled together without any regular arrangement. The huts usually have mud walls but in the western part of the district, walls of splitbamboo are met with as among other people of that area. The roof is often tiled with the usual Indian half-round *Khola*; but poorer people also use grass thatches. A portion of the kitchen room is set apart for ancestors. It is known as Ading.

A portion of the ancient forest of these areas is preserved in each village as a small grove which is the place of worship of the Munda village,—the Sarna. This is a sacred grove where deities reside. Another area almost as important is the Sasan or village bone-burial place. Each family of original founder of the village has here, a big stone slab supported on smaller pieces of stone; the bones of the dead of the family after cremation are buried under it. No one but those descended from the original founder families can use this Sasan.

There is an open space near the middle of the village, where the village council sits, and where also the village youth dance at festivals. Dancing takes place also on many moonlit nights, even though there are no festivals. This is the Akbra. In the old days the village adolescents had dormitories where they slept at night and received training



for social and for conjugal life. These dormitories are now found in a rudimentary form in some villages.

The Mundas are divided into a large number of exogamous Kilis (like gotras of Hindus), with tradition of descent from a common ancestor for each Kili. In the old days, only the members of a single Kili seem to have lived in one village, and the families were also related. Apparently when a village became over-populated, a number of families moved off and founded a new village. Connection with the mother village was maintained through the stone slab in the Sasan under which bones were sent to be buried. Gradually however separate bone-burial places and Sarnas were established. But the group of villages formed a large unit, with political bonds. Such a unit of associated villages with a common bond of Kili and of the central original village became the "Parha" unit. Migrations to other areas however made some of these units to have as members, villages with other Kili men in them. The Mundas distinguish as Bhuinhari Patti, that particular type of older Parha where all villagers are of the same Kili. The other mixed type where the Mundas settled later was simply termed Manki Patti. The original term for the head of a Parha was Manki. The term Bhuinbar was given by the Nagbansi Rajas of Chotanagpore who set themselves up as overlords in this area. The Mundas who migrated from this area retained the older term of Manki for their Parha head; but as they had to settle now in areas not through overflow of older villages clearing the forest and establishing new village for themselves but by reason of migration, these new Parhas were not so homogeneous.

The executive authority in a Parha and also the right to hold trials and judge cases, is vested in a body known as the Panchayet. In the older Bhuinhari area, the head of this body was termed Raja while in the other area he was styled Pat Munda.

In the village itself, the *latu*—the seniormost man of the founder's family was the acknowledged head. He was also elected by the deities for their priest, the Pahan. In old days he was the head of the village. A secular officer helped him for outside work. He was the Munda. Later due to the fact that officials and missionaries came mainly in contact with him in connection with village work in relation to the administration and as the missionaries received recognition from



Government, the Munda became influential and sometimes passed himself as head of the village. This led to quarrels in the village, and sometimes to failure to collect taxes, and consequent sale of village headmanship although it was really not saleable as the Headman was not a zamindar. There was also a village messenger the Mahato. At discussion of village matters, all the elders participated. In the larger Parha unit of Bhuinhari type also there is a convener and there is a sacred Headman or Pahan for the Parha, termed Karta. There are also other officers, termed Dewan, Sipahi, Lal and Thakur. The village officials of the different component units served in these Parha posts. These terms show Hindu influence. In the other type of Parha, all the Headmen of the component villages presided over by the Pat Munda form the Panchayet. At present these bodies have lost their political authority and dispose of cases arising out of deviations from social and tribal law.

FAMILY

In the older settlements the Mundas used to live in joint families, married sons staying with the father and all of them working in the family fields. The kitchen was common to such a unit. On the death of the father, the brothers usually separate, partitioning the family land. This may also be done by the father on his own initiative, in his lifetime. Daughters do not inherit; but an unmarried daughter is entitled to maintenance, and some land may be set apart at partition for this purpose. But it will not be her property and the land will go to her brothers on her marriage. The widow of a man also gets life interest on one share of his property on partition after death of her husband. Only where there is a daughter but no sons, and the girl's husband stays in her father's house, a share of the property, by previous arrangement with the village council will go to the son-in-law on the death of the girl's father.

CEREMONIES

When a woman is pregnant, a deity called Garasi Bonga is worshipped a fowl being offered to the deity. On child-birth, the mother and child and the room become unclean. The pollution lasts eight days and extends to the family. No Munda villager will



take food in a house where a child has been born during this period. On the eighth day, the baby and its mother have their nails pared as also agnatic near relations of the child. The mat on which the baby has so long slept is burnt and the mother washes herself in a tank or stream. The entire house and especially the room where the woman was confined is now sprinkled with water mixed with a little rice beer, as well as water in which a few Tulsi leaves and a copper coin has been put in. The older custom of sprinkling the ceremonial rice beer, has had superposed on it the Hindu custom of purifying with water made sacred by putting in it a piece of copper and Tulsi leaves. This ends the birth pollution.

Name-giving occurs next day, by dropping rice grains one by one in a brass plate filled with water, one for each of various relatives, after having dropped first of all a grain for the child. When one of the later dropped grains meet the first, the name of the relative for whom the grain was dropped is accepted. This relative becomes the Sakhi or Mita, i.e., friend of the baby. A girdle of thread is also tied round the waist of the baby on this occasion.

When the child is a few years old its ears are bored. The Sakhi comes with rice, pulse, salt, a piece of new cloth for the child and a goat to be slaughtered for a feast. A diagram of rice flour solution is drawn and a fowl sacrificed on it. The ears of the child are then bored and eating drinking and merry-making takes place.

Marriage among Mundas, as among Santals is an affair of elaborate ceremonies. When a son grows up the Mundari father looks about for a bride and asks friends and relations to help him to get a suitable girl for his son. If report comes of such a girl, he selects some friendly villager to act as go-between, and the latter makes the preliminary enquiries. If the father of the girl is agreeable, the go-between termed *agia* (or under Hindu influence *dutam*) and the father of the boy and one or two others start to visit the girl's house. The journey is completed only if the omens observed on the way are favourable. They are welcomed in the girl's house and the party take a meal after greetings. A similar return visit is paid by the girl's folks to the boy's home. At this visit if the marriage is agreed to, a formal announcement takes place. The



actual betrothal occurs on another day, with greater ceremony. The girl's father or guardian comes to the boy's father's house and after greetings are over, the bride price is settled. This is done with a good deal of formality, using claymarbles as symbols of rupees wanted. The presents and price are paid on another date ceremonially, and the day of marriage is also fixed. A few days before marriage a "mandwa" or raised platform with shed is erected in the courtyard of the houses of the bride as well as the bridegroom. Here the ceremony of rubbing with turmeric paste, and of blessing the boy and girl occurs. The bridegroom then leaves for the bride's village. The bridegroom is ritually blessed by his mother at the outskirts of the village. At the girl's village they are ceremonially received near the boundary and then taken to the girl's house. Here the girl's mother and women relatives each perform a ceremony (blessing him). He then retires with his party to a shed put up or some place arranged for their stay at night. Next morning the bridegroom goes to the bride's house where the bride is taken round him thrice in a bamboo basket. According to Ray, the groom then returns to his party. Thereafter, the bride and groom each have a little blood drawn out of the little finger of the left hand and soaked in a piece of rag. Later in the day the bridegroom is taken to the bride's house. Here the bride and bridegroom stand in the mandwa facing each other, and the blood-soaked rag is pressed by the boy to his neck and then on that of his bride. The girl does the same with her bit of rag. Each of them repeats this thrice. Garlands are now exchanged and vermilion marks put by each of them on the other's forehead. This series of rites in the mandwa forms the essential part of marriage. Further ceremonies however take place, mainly of magical import and finally dancing, drinking and a feast takes place. Before the bridegroom leaves the village with his newly married wife, the Pahan or the Munda of the girl's village, in the presence of assembled village elders and the girl's parents and relatives make over the girl to the charge of the husband's father. This is an illustration of the village unity of the Mundas and that all major rites in the life of the individual affect the village as a whole.



On return to his own village a similar series of rites of welcome and blessing are performed, followed by a feast to villagers.

Mundas permit divorce and also widow marriage. The ceremony for the latter is as usual very simple. Elopement also occurs ; but the wide variety of marriage forms found among Santals is absent.

DEATH

The Mundas practise cremation for disposal of the dead. The calcined bones are collected and ceremonially buried under the family Sasan stone on the annual bone-burial day. Cremation is followed by a calling back of the soul of the deceased to the house. The soul is supposed to come and stay in the Ading.

The bone-burial or Jang Topa rite takes place shortly after the Aman harvest (winter rice harvest), when agricultural activities are over for the year. The Mundas believe in a supreme deity Sing Bonga who seems to be the Sun. He is however not a deity with any particular festival for his worship. But he is invoked at all religious rites to bless them. There are other deities of the village, whose help is needed for success in hunting, for good crops and for other activities. Jaher Budhi looks after agriculture. She is the same as Jaher Era (Era-woman) of Santals. For hunting they have Chandi Bonga. Ancestors are invoked for blessing at all socio-religious ceremonies ; offerings are made to them in the Ading.

The Mundari festivals naturally centre round the obtaining of the prime necessities of life, food. The year may be said to end as well as to begin with the Mage Parab. It is celebrated on the day of Full Moon in Pous. The agricultural cycle is over ; the winter rice has been harvested. Now the Munda offers his worship to his ancestors in the Ading. The prayer is to protect them from the dangers of the forest and for success in their other work. The annual contract with farm servants ends, and fresh contracts are made a few days later. Those families who have to participate in Jang Topa rites get ready for it.

A ceremony like the Holi festival is performed in the month of Falgun. Its pattern is borrowed from Hindus with traits added from the culture of the Mundas. The really big Munda festival in this



season is the Ba-Porob (corresponding to Baha-Porob of Santals) when Sal flowers bloom. Offerings of bunches of these flowers collected in the forest, are made, at the sacred grove to Jaher Budhi. After the worship for the village, each family makes offerings of the blossoms in the Ading. No agricultural work is done on this or the preceding day.

Agriculture has its cycle of festivals in (a) the Hon-Ba Porob, when the villagers commence sowing paddy in their fields and (b) the Batauli or Kadleta observed just before transplantation of paddy seedlings. Both are celebrated in the Jaher Sarna. (c) The Kolom Sing Bonga also known as Kharihan puja, i.e., worship of threshing floor, celebrated in November after the winter paddy has been harvested. The deities are worshipped in the Pahan's Kharihan. (d) The Sohorai festival is celebrated in the month of Kartik, after the early rice is harvested. The deity Gorea Bonga presiding over cattle is worshipped and the cattle are anointed with oil, decorated and *baran* performed.

Mention should also be made of the Manda parab evidently borrowed from Hindus. It is on the lines of Cadak festival of Hindus but has fire-walking and other traits which are found associated with worship of Dharma. As stated before the Mundas are fond of song and dance, and thus enjoy themselves on many moonlit nights, apart from the festivals. The songs centre round hunting, agriculture and their lives. Love songs naturally come in for a very large share of such compositions. A few typical songs are noted later on.

Folk tales among Mundas seem to have originated in those days when they also watched over crops in their fields by the forest. A few of these are also noted.

1. A hunting song :—

Cetan Kutire, gosain
Terea, tereako, gosain
Latar kutire gosain
Marea, mareako
Sari, japi, sari
Rutaba Saili do, gosain
Rukuken, rukuken, gosain



Saidaba rukuri, gosain
 Chotabaken, chotabaken
 Sari, japi, sari
 Tuiu mendo gore, gosain
 Rukuken, rukuken, gosain
 Terangi mendo gosain
 Chotabaken, chotabaken
 Sari, japi, sari
 Torahoe togejan, gosain
 Cutima kanasul, gosain
 Toraho togejan, gosain
 Subama serom, gosain
 Sari, japi, sari
 Torahoe senojan, gosain
 Singeko biritte gosain
 Sari, japi, sari
 Torahoe senojan, gosain
 Madeko landirite gosain
 Sari, japi, sari

English Translation—

Up on the rolling hill, Gosain
 There, there, they cry
 Down the sloping dale, Gosain
 Hasten, hasten, they shout
 For certain, a song of hunt, Oh sure.
 The wild buffalo like a Ruta flower, Gosain
 Shivers, shivers, in fear
 The boar, like the Saida flower, Gosain
 Runs loose, and grunts
 For certain, a song of hunt, Oh sure.
 But now the deadly arrow
 Does tremble and shake
 As the bow is bent, its flight to make
 For certain, a song of hunt, Oh sure.
 Now flies the arrow, Gosain
 With feathers from wing of bird

Now flies the shaft, Gosain
Below the neck it has hit
For certain, a song of hunt, Oh sure.
The game has fled, Gosain
To the forest of Sing
For certain, a song of hunt, Oh sure.
Now runs the game, Gosain
To the bamboo clumps so high
For certain, a song of hunt, Oh sure.

Note.—The refrain "sari, japi, sari" has been literally translated.

2. Another song of chase :—

Madukam subare jiluhon atingtanae,
ho! atingtanae
Hora horate pardia sesentanae
ho! sesentanae
Madukam nagenge jiluhon atingtanae
ho! atingtanae
Jiluhon nagenge pardia biridtanae
ho! biridtanae
Madukam subare jiluhon raure jana
ho! raure jana
Jiluhon raurejan pardia rasikatanae
ho! rasiktanae

English Translation—

Below the mahua tree, grazes grazes a deer
Along the path, stooping, stooping comes
a hunter near
The deer has come, has come to feed on mohua sweet
The hunter has drawn his bow, his bow the
deer to slay
Below the mahua tree the deer his end doth meet,
doth meet
The deer now fallen, the hunter feels
so gay, so gay.

3. A song of cultivation :—

Asar cando tebalena
Dola maire roa nalate



Haturen horoko do oronglena
 Sobenko senopanako
 Midtarebu Kamiabu pants pantige
 Singido dubuilena
 Dola maire nalatalate
 Nala bute lakeda
 Rurungiabu, mandiabu
 Honbopon tenda meiabu.

English Translation—

The month of Asar has come
 Let us hie to the fields to transplant.
 The village folk their home
 Have left and wended this way.
 Side by side, in rows shall we work.
 As the sun sets, we shall leave,
 Take our wages, husk the grain
 Cook the rice and with our children
 Quaff the gruel (and eat).

Note.—The song shows that the workers are agricultural labourers working in the fields of others.

4. A song of an owner cultivator:—

Lorbo Sokora Lakirajam rabangtana
 Lakirajam rabangtana
 Lorbo Sokora Lakirajam rearatana
 Lakirajam rearatana
 Ela Raja bolome, tantaraing baisaititad
 Ela Raja sorome, koaluing baibaruitad
 Sartia cim labara koaluing baisaititad
 Sartia cim labara, koaluing baibaruitad

English Translation—

Oh King paddy in the field Lorbo Sokora you shiver
 You shiver with cold
 Oh King paddy in the field Lorbo Sokora you
 You



Oh King, enter, a platform I have made
For you to sit upon

Oh King, come in, the seat of wood have I made
For you to take your seat.

5. When rain fails and crops shrivel :—

Note ho dudugar, sirma ho koasi
Nimin din da-ge banoa
Cimente kage gamaia?

Asar saon moyod rati ho banoa
Bhadarge dharti nore—jana
Cimente kage gamaia?

Sirmaru sing bonga, otere marangdeota
Cimente kage gamaia?

Lai—renge, da—tetan, jige senotana

English Translation—

Dry dust blows, the sky mists over
No water there is, why no rains have come?
Asar and Sravan not a drop of rain
Have given, in Bhadra the earth cracks up
Oh, why no rains have come?

Singbonga is up in the sky,
Marang deo is here on earth
Oh why have no rains come?
The pangs of an empty belly
The thirst for water
Makes our life depart.

6. Hindu influence on their concepts about deities is shown in the following song about the goddess of agriculture :—

Naiga, naiga neyang
Oko horo gör tingua kana
Waiga, naiga apang
Cimoy proja gore japak gakana
Leli, leli, mendo gore
Lakhia Laksmi King tinguakana



Cinai cinai mendo gore
Khetia Kirsiking japak gakana

English Translation—

Oh mother look, look
Who is the person standing there?
Oh father do you, do enquire
What person awaits on foot?
Looking, looking, we see
Stands there the (goddess) Laksmi
We know her, standing there
In person (goddess of) Agriculture,

7. Although cultivation is now their main source of supply, the Mundas still utilise forest produce as food, especially when they have food shortage. This is indeed a valuable supplementary food and is referred to in the song below :—

Buru madukam e hale, madukam ho
Bera sarjom hale, bera sarjom
Buru madukam e hale riboribotana
Bera sarjom hale gasa gasatana
Holang la gateing ribi ribi tana
Tumbala sangaing gasa gasa tana
Ringa kore long tiko jometea
Akalkare long tom nabetea

English Translation—

Hill mohua, friend, this mohua,
Sal from vale, friend, (flower of) Sal from vale
The hili mohua drops tap, tap
The (flower of) Sal from vale
It falls in showers.
The pit-a-pat dropping mohua
Friend let us gather,
And the Sal flower also, together
In the lean season shall we these
We shall boil and eat
When no crops are there,
These we shall cook and eat.



Note :—Akal is used to refer to crop failure and consequent evil times.

8. When children grow up, parents begin to observe symptoms that it is time to get them married :—

Ka babu balec' tema, Ka babu lindud tema
Noyol mutu leka, babu hor cobaton
Ka babu balec' tema, Ka babu lindub tema
Viyur sekore tema, babu, Kuvcim danda ton
Ka mai, bale tema, Ka mai lindud' tema
Mandi utu lunda bondom hec'e hecena

English Translation—

My son you are no longer a child,
a baby boy
You move along like a plough upright
You are no more a child, a baby boy
Hither and thither after girls
to move you delight
My daughter you are no more
a child, a little girl
When cooking rice and greens
And at work, with mud for plaster
Your body you look at, in secret by others

9. As the girl gets married, the mother laments her departure. She is compared to a lamp lighting up now her husband's parents' house :—

Jul tana dia, jul tanare
Sangin rege dia jul tanare
Maskal jana dia maskal janare
Nubok' disum rege dia maskal janare
Nubok' jana orak' dia tamak' re
Gora orak duvar dia enrec' janare

English Translation—

The lamp burns, it burns:
Far away the lamp shows its light:



The lamp lights up, it is seen
 In the land of darkness the lamp is alight.
 Now in your house the light is gone,
 The light in house and cattle shed is out.

10. Many of their songs center round the flowering of Sal and the coming of spring which usher in the season of festival :—

Ba' cando muluc' lena
 Sarjom ba' ba' tana
 Sura sangen bale opad nawa darare
 Sura sangen sura tana,
 Sarjom ba' ba' tana
 Dil e dongoba
 Sura sangen sura tana
 Tinjar tonjara
 Dile dongoba
 Ba tege topa kana
 Tinjar tonjora
 Sura tege doloba kana

English Translation—

The month of Sal flower (= Chait) has come
 The flower of sal is in bloom
 On new twigs new buds and leaves appear
 The flower of sal has come, in bunches
 The buds and leaves have burst forth
 The flower of sal in bunches have come
 They have covered the branches
 The leaves have come out in numbers
 The branches are hidden by them.

11. Mention has been made of different festivals including the Manda parab. The Mundas put on masks of Ram, Laksman, Krishna, and others and dance in this guise at some of the festivals with appropriate songs. These indicate Hindu influence and adoption of traits of Hindu culture.

Here is a song about Krishna :—

Bir vitar kuda sura



Sura kana ugul dugul
 En reking duba kana
 Sidam en Sudama
 Ako Boloram Boloram
 Rutue orong Ghanasyam.
 Nete nete ko orong
 Nete nete bako gutui
 Jetoy jetoy dadide
 Nokoe bok'e sura sangen
 Oro Boloram Boloram
 Rutue orong Ghanasyam

English Translation—

In the forest on jamun boughs
 Where leaves and buds are sprouting
 Sidam and Sudam, the twain are sitting
 And "Boloram, Boloram"
 The flute of Krishna is singing.
 One plays the flute,
 Another weaves a garland of flowers
 Some the head adorn with twigs of buds
 And Krishna plays the flute,
 "Boloram, Boloram" it sings.

Note.—Sidam and Sudam are friends of Krishna.

Kisto doe nila kana
 Uric' gae ko- e gupi tana
 Ating tan ko atingtana
 Atom atom
 Oroc' Boloram, Boloram
 Rutue Orong Ghanasyam

English Translation—

Krishna in blue garments clad
 The cattle does herd
 The cattle graze,
 They graze along the banks
 And "Boloram, Boloram" the flute sing.



12. In the next song Sita in the forest is herding sheep like a Munda girl. Ravan abducts her :—

Gara japuk' loba suba
 Merom ko e gupitana
 Lel jai lel jai lok'
 Dondo torsa kiok', bhai nolita
 Okoe mene mare mare
 Okoe mene dhare dhare
 Lal ja i lel jai lok'
 Dondo torsa kiok bhai nolita
 Budu tea bu- i kaji tana
 Ravan Sita- e idi kiok'
 Lel jai lel jai lok'
 Dondo torsa kiok' bhai nolita.

English Translation—

By the river under the wild fig tree
 Sita herds the sheep
 Lo while they but look on and see
 Dear one, she is snatched away.
 Some cry, hit him, kill him
 Others shout catch him, stop him
 While they but look and see
 Dear one, she has been carried away.
 Budu Babu says,
 Ravan has Sita abducted
 While they were looking on
 Dear one, she is taken away.

A large collection of Mundari songs in Munda language and Hindi translation will be found in *Bansuri Bajae* by Shri Jagadish Trigunayata. Hence further examples are not given.

The Munda folk tales noted below have been chosen for the moral they convey. At first the Munda versions are given, and then the English translations of the same. The translations are not literal but somewhat abridged.

PERE SENRĀ ORO PUNJI

Mid diplire moyog rājā rāj re api hoṛo eṭa eṭa dhan te punji ākān ko taikenā. Sidā ni isu peṛean, eṭa ni isu seṇrān oro āpiā ni isu punji an. Ne api hoṛo ko akoā rājāo kāko boroāi tai kenā ad joar bear O kākoā tan tai kena. Oro ako-ako re O kāko jopoar tan tai kenā. Pere



an ni meneā hisi hoṛo oskar tegei lel koā, señrān ni meneā-mid tung kāji tege rājāiñ otang giriā ad kacian ni meneā takātege Rājake topā-daria. Soben apan apan manārang reko tiin taa kenā. Misē rājā darbā re soben porja ko nyotā jana. En api hoṛo koo, apan apan hātu āte ko hiju lenā. Cimatang rājā darbār re tybā lenā soben parjā ko birid janate joar gomake, mente ko kaji kedā en āpi hoṛo kodo joar kāko kāji kedā ad hapā hapā rajaa' panti re ko dub aeyar janā. Raja do joar e' tela ked cī, mar soben ko bu main udub mente aya' ora'te idi ked koā ad sibil sibil nuiā jomeā koe' omad koā. Tunḍu re metako tanae'- ape do aiñyā rāja ren māinan hoṛo ko tanape, enā mente hagāin aja japā kote kupulo' raā kad peñie. Tobe ena kāji ko hekedā ad rājā, aya' moyod capārāsi gupti ciṭṭhi lote inkua' horā kharcha gojo' mente ako lo' kul kiiāe, cia' cī bār hisi gaōdi horā jiling tai kenā. Barasinga sen horā tayomate setā tabā torsā capārāsi, en gupti ciṭṭhi hapā hapā te raja' hagāteke' omaiyā. Rājā ḍuḍunga jante joar ked koāe ad ayo dāsi ko metā ko tanae mar, sekerā sekerā soben kote bu māin sangikoā. Baran sānj marang jomeā ko bai kedā. Ayub raā mañḍi jomtayomate ruṛun oṛo jagar mente eā duvar tarom bittara kuṭhuri re ko oder ked koā ad ko handed kuren janā.

Rājā marang hagāte gupti ciṭṭhi re neāē ol kulā kad taikenā ne āpi hoṛo ko abuā jetana manāting kāko do tanā bongā goe takom. Rājā hapā hapā en ciṭṭhi paḍbāo kete singi rege soben samporo ko ader rikā ked koe. Tobe hoṛo bongā ni aya' kāni ko rikā ete' kedāe. Montor ko kajitona ḍurang tan lo' dhuvan ondor jadae'. Sipai ko atom atom re banduk saba lo', rājā ad kupul ko samang dapārom dub teā kore ko dub biyur kanā. Señrān ni mudi tab kedāe. Aya gati kin ló hape hape jagar tanae-e bhāi-lele ben. Netā re do abu, bongā gōe mente ko aderā kad buā, cilkābu banacāwanā? Sidāte pere'annike meta itanā mareā ando hisi hoṛo lel koain mentem kajiā do bancawabum. Ini kāji rurā kedāe-kāe ā Nekan tongaa' saban kolo' tede kā mendo piṛi re indaa' saban kolo'te takāte geñi topānā mentem kajiā oṛetan jus omkete bancāvbum. Ini' doe kāji rurā keda elaea tabu rājāe te laa' do kāi takā tadā ad kāiñ jus dariāiā. Tobe borote raa' tan lo' señrān ni kin metai tanā—mareā tabu amage deranga mod tung kājite rājāiñ otang giriām meneā sekerā bancavabum, kāredo ko goe buā. Ad kin binti jāiā. Tobe



señrān ni ōṛu thaokā kedci rājāe meditanā e rājā! Goe dom goe lea sarttege, mendo aminanga cinaa' mentem herā rikā jalā? Ciminang sekerā goe leām iminañ sekrā amaa' rāij baum telāeā. Ne kāji āyūm torsā rājā, bongā ni metai tanā—hoñ! hoñ! iminanga je bongāe meñ dolābu gitii tebu ūṛuñōā ōṛo' seṛāñ ni' matei tanae kam goe lere jaked kale ūṛuñōā. Rājā men jadāe kāge ape do bāniñyā rāij ren mapārang utar hoṛo ko tanape do cina mentening goe peā. Māin lo' teng kul ṛurā peā. Mimid hajār ṭakā eneñ omāpeā sukute ṛurā pe. Ōṛo je señrān ni metai tanae—mimid hajār ṭakā do dola ale lo' sen me tebaa 'torsā gele omāmeyā. Tobe rājā koñka giri janae ad gele hajār ṭaka om ked kote rajī tad koae ad ko ṛurā janā. Tobe pere an ad ṭakān kin ji dobu bancava kanā señran ni'yate enā mente akingā soben hissā keing omāijā.

English version :

STRENGTH, WISDOM (INTELLIGENCE) AND RICHES

There used to live three men in the kingdom of a king. They had different kinds of possessions. One was strong, the second intelligent, the third rich. These three men were not afraid of the king. They never curtsayed to the king, nor each other. The strong used to say that he alone could settle with twenty men together, the intelligent used to say that he could defeat the king by only a word of his and the rich used to say that he could cover the king by his riches.

Once the king gave a feast to all his subjects in the court. These three men also came from their villages. When the king arrived in the court, all subjects stood up and curtsayed to him but these three did not do this and sat by the side of the king. The king greeted all and requested them to sit. When the court (feast) was over, the king took these three men with him to his house (ghar). He welcomed them with sumptuous meals and then said, "You are respectable persons of my kingdom, and my brother has therefore invited you day after tomorrow." They accepted. The king gave them an attendant and expenses for the journey and sent them off to his brother's town. He also gave a confidential letter to the attendant. When they reached the brother's town, the attendant went and delivered the letter in



advance to the king's brother. The latter received the three men with pomp and show. After the night meal service, he took them to his room to talk and closed the doors.

The king had written in his confidential letter that these three men did not show any respect to him and so they should be killed. After reading the letter the younger king had arranged everything accordingly. The sacrificing priest started his work. After chanting the mantras he lighted the incense. The king and a soldier with a gun sat facing the guests. The intelligent man immediately grasped the thing and indicated that to his colleagues. He said, "How shall we escape now?" He said to the strong man, "You used to say you could face twenty men alone; now show your power." The latter said, "I did not say for a man with a gun: I said for men with sticks in the field." Then the intelligent man said to the rich man, "You say much about your riches: now do something for our escape by giving bribe or otherwise." He also admitted failure. Then they challenged the intelligent man.

The intelligent man thought over and then said to the king, "Why are you making such a delay in killing us. The quicker you kill us, the quicker will your brother snatch your kingdom."

No sooner had the king heard this than he said to the priest, "That is all; this much will do. Now let us go to sleep." The intelligent man said, "We shall not get up from here unless you kill us." The king said "No, no, you are the most eminent persons of my brother's kingdom. How can we kill you? You take a thousand rupees each and leave for your place in pleasure." The intelligent man said, "A thousand rupees each we shall give you as soon as we reach (our place). Accompany us." Then the king gave them ten thousand rupees each and making them accept, sent them off.

The strong and the rich men admitted their defeat and for having saved their lives gave their rewards also to the intelligent man.

Moral.—Intellect is greater than strength and wealth. So one should cultivate it by education and thinking.



SOHRAI

Mundā apute kote hāssā kami ree jīmā kia' oro' ini' aya' kuri lo' bir maa'—e ete' kedā. Maá sidāre ini' siŋgbongāe' raa' kia' oro' ini' siŋgbongā taa' neyā ās' is' asi kejā ci aling bir maa' ling ete' jadā he sirma-ren siŋg bongā aling jetā kisimren jānwar koete alo kaling jiyāno' oro' soben ki-imren hisingā bongā koyo alingā boromo re jetā rākam raá gonoe dukhu alo kako rikā ekā enā mente soben as' rae amare ling jīmā jadā mendo aling musing kolon re rakab keyale amā main ling jabareā oro' janāw jaked āiñā jai puti jaked amako johar mekā mente aling ke dengā ling meñ. Neyā kāji kedci daru kin maá kedā. Oro' oko thayad re tingu koete siŋgbongāe' raá lia' en thayad (pavitra) ke kin hissab kedā. Oro' en thayad ke ciulāo kaing maa'yā mente kin kiriyan janā, ena mente en thayad bongā cāhe (bhagavān) lo jagar tea' thayad s'arṇa kin nutum kedā. Ikir bongā manating thayad "Ikir" oro' māñdā buru des'āuli, jaher, candi, ne lekā nutum keyāte kin maa' sare' kedā. Bir dāru ko maa' baṭi keyāte sengelate kin ondor kedā. Dayur-daa' thesar kenā jaragi daa' jaram kenā tumbā re tuṛi re dovā kana hitā ranu ko en jarā goṛā re kin her pitid keda. Oro' hoṛomo siŋgār nangente kad som kin her kedā. Mundaa' hon koe hoṛoko taikenā. Marang ni' kokape taikenā, ini' ge hātu ren gomke cāhe ora' ren (mālik) ko manāting kiā oro' ina sontān ko mapārang idi' jan geyā. Tayom te puraa' ko sāngi jan ci rājā ko metad koā talā malā ni pāñṛ kami janā; enāte hupuring ko kuñvata hagā ko kajiyad koā. Pāhār s'arṇa siŋgbongā oro' eṭā' hupuring bongā ko thaharaw kan din cāhe parv kore sevā jad koe' taikenā. Tayomate huring lekā ko pos'ā jan ci tholae te hatu ko saki kedā oro' enāete pura marang hātu do nagar ko metādā. Hātu raa' tarā genā mundā tolā, pāhār tolā, latar tolā ete hātu ko saki kedā. Mundā haṛam goe janā tarā saá reko topā kia oro' en cetan re diri ko do ho kedā ena ge sasan diri saki janā. Kuvāñṛ hagā goe janā sayá saá ree topā janā. Eṭā santān ren cāhe eṭā eṭā hātu ren koka kāko do rikā koā diri ciā ci ini' ho hātu kisan hoṛoé baihoó á mente tayomate inku' isu saŋgi hātu ko pos'ā janā oro' marang utar kokape á gusthi reni ge rājā ko salā kiā. Mundā dipli rege urí ko nam lenā. Musing bir bitar gaṛā japā té



sen kenā, gaṛā japaa' re moreyā sinhon koé nam ked koā. Inku goṭa hoṛomo losod geko taikenā. Munḍa inku capi amin ked koā. Cui ko men kedā, am sekerā ge netāā ete senō me, kā redo amke ale á engā ko hiju koāe teko goé meyā. Munḍa metad koā kāge aing apea' engā koing lel ladkoā. Tobe ini' salangi dāru re dūb janā. Huring heṛa tayomate engā ko hiju lenā oṛo' akōa' hon ko parciyā kan lel ked kote puraā ko rasikā janā oṛo' ko men kedā ale moyod manoā hon hiju lenā te capi parci ked leyā. Engā ko men kedā ini' kotā' ria' ale le lel liyā ko men kedā. Cui ko men kedā, hetā eyāng ale ini' le udub ki redo ape ini' pe goiyā, enā mente ale kale udubā peyā. Enga ko men kedā, ale ini' cinā' mentele goiyā ini' do aleā dengā ni' tani' oṛo' dayāni bhagavāne baiyā kaiyā. Enga' sugaṛā jagar ayum ked te hon ko ini' ko udub kiā inku ini' ke dāru eyate ko raā hiṛāgu kiā. Manoāñ hon hoṛāgun janā oṛo' urī' ko lo' ko jagar janā. Uri ko men kedā aleo amāā hātu te idi lem. Inku iniā oṛā' lel keyāte ruṛā kā mone ked koā. Inku men keda he gomke ne amā' oṛā' rege le tainā, oṛo' amā' gele sevāā' okona am huknā leyā enā le manā tingā mente ko kāji kedā oṛo' manoāñ inkuā kajie manāting kedā ad ko tain janā. Manovāñ hon daru reā bakó kó baikedte bariyā urī kin joṛā ked kingte racā' rikā ked kiñā' oṛo' en ṭayadre bābā kare jetan jome teyā jinisié rovā, her kedā.

Bhādo candu tebā lenā goṛā bābā jarom janā. Manoāñ hon ko enā ir agu kedā oṛo' ako ge enā ko jom kedā uri' ko kae omad koā. Neyā lel kedci uri' ko huring ji janā oṛo' ako ṛeko men kedci sangi tebu kami laā ako do eskar teko jom keda. Nido abu kae sukubad buā enā mente dolābu jetā tegebu senoā' men kidei ko uḍung janā. Bir horā re enā geko ukutātan Singbongāe ayum nam tad koā. Oṛo' é metā ko tanā ci ape cinā'pe jagar tanā. Uri' ko metai tanā kāge manowāñ hon lo' mid' rele kami kenā mendo kami ledāena' akoge jom kedā enāte ale huring ji janā. Singbongā inkué kaji ako tanā, he honko alope huring jiva ā ; aingo harā matā keni' kae' omā ka, ingā, mendo ayaā galati do kā mendo aingā galati tana cia' ci neyā raā niyam dharma, sevā susār auring udubāiyā enā mente dotāing idi' ruṛā pēyā. Singbongā monowāñ hon ké bujhankiā ci am amā' dengā ken ko kami lad raā jomeā hanaṭing kam omad koā oṛo'am eskar gem jom kedā, enā mente tisingāeteing tolam tanā oṛo' ṭhāharau jad ci dīn re nikua nagente sevā (Sohrāi) neg rikāeme oṛo' soben



en hulang midre jomepe oꝛo' aingo ge apeyā kami lel nagenteing hijuá. Soben koa' oꝛā ing leleyā enā mente en hulangra inku tain tan thayad re diyā bati julo' kā. Neyā neg re lukhi Laks'mi, kheti (krisi), asi jom me oꝛo' enā ruá rovaing omā peyā. Ne lekāte mundā hāramā pariyāre eté lenā. Tayom te enā ge ayaá hon gāñrāñ ko rikā āgu kedā oꝛo' lel lelate etā' jāti keyo ko rikā kedā. En hulang urí ko singār ke kote baṭiyāreko susun tanā dhumang ko ru jadā, en hulang goṭa midā ko ḍurang jadā, je māje singbongā alo kāe huṛing jió mente.

English version:

SOHRAI

Once a man went towards a river. He saw some calves. Their bodies were full of dust and mud. The man cleaned them with water. The calves said to the man, "Now you run away quickly, otherwise our mothers would return and kill you." The man said, "I want to see your mothers" and then climbing a tree sat there.

After some time when the cows returned and saw their calves clean and tidy they became very pleased. They asked, "Who cleaned you so?" They replied, "A man had come who cleaned us." The cows asked, "Where is he? We want to see him." The calves said, "If we call him you will kill him. We shall not call him." The mothers said, "Why shall we kill? He is our kind helper."

Listening this the calves called the man. The man came down. The cows said to him, "We want to see your house. Take us to your house."

The man took them to his house. The cows after seeing it did not feel like going back. They said to the man, "You keep us with you. We shall serve you and obey you."

The man agreed and kept them with him. He brought a bent stick and started to yoke the calves (he). He also took them to graze and arranged for their fodder and water.

When the month of Bhado (Bhadra) came, the (goda) paddy ripened. The man reaped it and brought home and ate it all alone. He did not give anything to the cows and bullocks. The creatures felt it very much. They talked amongst themselves, "We all worked



together but the man alone ate it. It looks the man is not worried about us ; so let us return to the jungles."

Having decided this they went towards the jungles abusing the man. On the way, God (Bhagwan) heard their musings and asked, "What were you talking?" The cows and bullocks said, "We all worked together with the man, but when the crop was harvested he ate it all alone. We have been much pained and are returning to jungles." Sing-bonga (Bhagwan) said, "Don't be grieved ; I also look after the man but he has given me nothing. But it is not his fault. It is my mistake. I have not taught him anything about rules and religion. So come there with me."

All returned to the man's house. Bhagwan taught him, "These cows and bullocks helped you but when you reaped the crop, you did not give them their share and ate all alone. So from today do not do this mistake again. Fix a day for serving them and eat all together. I will also come to see this. Light lamps in their shed and request Lakshmi for boon."

The man obeyed, and performed the festival of the cows and bullocks. Later his sons also followed this practice.

Since then the people started decorating the cows and bullocks. They play upon the drum (mandar) and sing and dance and celebrate Diwali by lighting the lamps so that Sing-bonga may not be grieved.

Moral : If you are helped by others, you should do a good turn yourself to them.

MISIYĀ BAREYĀ

Bariyā Haṛam Buṛiā kinā bariyā hon kin taikenā. Moyod kuṛi hon ad moyod koṛā hon. In kin musing moyod birte tiril jom kin senó janā. Tiril jom jom te dá teta nam ked kinā. Kuṛi hon men kedā ci mar dādā upun koṇa ma re upuiyā meral thereme okosá ge daá namoa sarialang. Daá tarā sá reking munḍi kedā ad ente senó kin mone kedā. Ente kuṛi men kedā ci ká dādā áinge talang daá áu kosang am netá re tain me. Ini' moyod baṛi sakam rá puṛui bai kedā ad-e senó janā. Daá nam ked ci ruvaṛ tan taikenā. Anādo moyod rájāe lel nam kiya. Ini birte senderā hijuvā kan taikenā. Inike lel ked



kici ini' moyod daru re' de' janā. En daru tā rege en rājā ko dub janā. Cetnāte dā misā misā uyu tan taikenā. Enāge rajae cakā lā anādo sibil gé atkar kedā. En lo' ge cetan ae Sangil lā anādo moyod majā lekan kuṛi hon tani. En lo' ge rajae racā harāgu kiyā adae idi mo-sā kiyā. Anasā iniā dadāte ae dañrā barā tanā. Kae nam kici ae en rājā ra' oṛā' muli mulin' janā. Horā ré seno tan dipili en kuṛi duvaro re tinguvā kan taikenā. Akin baran boko boyā kin cipina janā. En koṛā mulige rājā kovā goṛān mulite sen keda ad soben uri' ko-e har ked kovā. Rājā neyā kā suku kiyā ad ini' ke goe rikā kiyā. Goe jan ci misite kuṛi men kede ci alāyā ni' doe goe janā nā dobu rapā kiyā.

Rapā natina sengel ko ting kedā ad enateko do kiyā. En kuṛi sengel juñḍi taici' metā ko tanā marti tabu siramā lelepe cinā nakā jul tapā. En bā ja lo' ge soben ko siramā ko arid tā. En somay rege ini' marci gundāe her tad kovā ad aye do en sengel rekhuril jana.

English version :

BROTHER AND SISTER

A brother and sister went to eat the fruit of keond (*Diospyros Mel*) in a jungle. There they felt thirsty. Sister said, "Dada, you take four *anwatas* and throw them in four directions. We shall know which way water is." The boy did so. They found out about water.

The sister went to fetch water. Having drunk herself she took some water in banyan leaf cup for the brother and started to return. She then saw a king out on hunting. She got frightened and climbed up a tree. The king came to take rest below that tree.

Water was dripping from above, so the king looked up. He saw a beautiful girl. He asked her to come down. When she did so he took her to his palace.

In the mean time the brother became worried. In searching the sister, he came to the palace. On the door, the girl was sitting. Both met. Brother found about the cowshed of the king from the sister and took the cattle out to bring them to his home.

When the king came to know of it, he sent his soldiers and got him caught and ordered him to be killed. He was immediately killed.



People took him to cremate at the river bank. The body was laid over the pyre. The king came to watch the ceremony and his queen accompanied him.

As soon as the pyre flared up, the girl said, "Look, what is seen above." All looked up and the girl threw powdered chillies in the sky. When the people began rubbing their eyes, the girl fell into the pyre and was burnt to death.

TURU

Moyod randi buria moyod ge kuŕi hon taikenā. Kuŕi hon isu sugarā dhangari janae. Engāte janao akina kharcā ko dāñrā oŕo' kāmī nālā kote idi barā jai taikenā. Musing do kudā jom mente hir saā kin urung janā. Bir raā moyod kudā dāru ta tebā janaci uyuā kan jo ko kin halang jom cabā kedā mando oŕā te āweteyā bano' janā. Tobe, engāte buriyā, eŕā ko ayume lekā kakalā ke dae, ci okoe kudā rukuā ling redo ini' aiñā hon kuŕi arāndi omāiyā. Buriyā kaji ayum torsā moyod turu aking taā nir kedae ad aiñ rukuā benā mente kāji ruŕā kedae. Buriyā he torsā iyā. Turu kudā dāru te nir de' janci rukuad kin ae. Lāi bio' gekin jom kudā ad oŕāte yo idia' bobā janaci arāgun me bābu, Ne tain hon kuŕi jimām tanaiñ. Turu rasikā tan ló aeā oŕaa' te idi kiyā, ad buriyā, esakar ge oŕate ruŕā janā.

Musing hulang en birtege moyod rājā hon aeā dāsi-dhangrā holo' sendrā urung janae. Birre en turua kuŕi ko senderā nam kiyā. En kuŕia sugar med muar ñel kete rājā honaji ini' rege racā janā ad gādha cetan re janao raāeyā. Setha turu et kāge janao raāeyā goe kiyāte sengel re onđor giri taibe. Rājā hukum lekā turu toŕe goye ki' ci onđor mente gārāte idi kiyāko. Gharikad tayomate rājā ayā kuŕi lo hāthi cetan re deyākan te citā lel kin senó janā. Tebā torsā hāthi cetanāte citā re sengel junđie hukum kedā. Sengel hadkava tan dipli kuŕi tae hāthi cetanāte julotan citā re kuŕil kedae ad ayā arāndi kóŕā lóe onđor mesan janā. Rājā ad dāsi ko lel kete ko koñkā giri janā ad hapā hapā oŕate ko ruŕā janā.

English version :

SQUIRREL

A widow had a daughter. The latter gradually became a beautiful young woman. The mother used to take her daily with her in search of livelihood. One day both went to the jungle to eat jamun fruit.



Below a tree they ate up all the fallen fruit but there remained nothing to bring home. Then the old woman said loudly to others, "If some one fells the jamun fruit from the tree, I will marry my daughter to him." On hearing this a squirrel came running and said, "I will do that but keep your promise." The old woman agreed.

The squirrel started doing so and the mother and daughter ate to their heart's content and then collected some for taking home. The old woman took down the squirrel from the tree and handed over her daughter to him. The squirrel took her home. The old woman came to her home alone.

In that jungle a king came to hunt with his attendants. He was charmed by seeing such a beautiful girl in the jungle. He took her and made her sit on his horse and brought her home.

The squirrel followed the king wailing and crying. He daily used to weep round the king's castle and over the roof of it.

When the king became greatly harassed by the squirrel, he ordered it to be killed. Receiving the order the servants took the squirrel to the river to be killed. After some time the king along with his wife came on the elephant to see the last of the squirrel. The pyre was alighted and when it flared up the queen jumped down on it from the elephant and was burnt to death.

The king and the servants could do nothing but helplessly see.

Moral.—Never use your power to do an unjust thing and deprive others of their right; you will suffer in the end.

BARIYĀ ARĀNDI

Moyod hoṛā' jetā hagā kako taikenā. Auri arāndio rege engā āpu kin tae goe janā. Ote piri ko sangige taikenā enā mente bariyā kuṛi led kināye. Kuṛi kin tae oṛā' piri raā kāmi ko pāṛā pāṛi kin rikā tan taikenā. Maṛiñ maṛiñti koṛā' ḍulāṛā huṛing niyā centan re pur' janā. Tobe, marang ni' jorte hisingā hapā janā. Koṛā taling khiṛsiāi kae mente hoṛā koḥ uruntanā. Musing naā do huṛing ni, koṛā loe uḍuñā kan dipli eṭā hulang raā maṇḍi cauli mente guḍulu tiki roṛ keāte kā lel urumo jugutu koronjo sunum suid kedā. Jire neyā ḍuḍu kedāe hiruming, sunum raā bororo te rūrung kae daṛiā ad en lekāte tiki maṇḍi koṛā taling kae nam tab kere sāṛtege khiṛsiā iyā ad āiñ pura' ḍulāṛā



iñyā. Tobe janava lekāge setāre marangni lo' piri raā kāmī kin urung janā. Guri racā oṛo' etā etā kāmī ko rikā tab kedci ruṛung kedā. Ruṛung ruṛung te tikin giṛi O tanā, guḍulu do kā sogo tanā mente tii talkā kinre iti kid kedā-e do sunum janāe. Neyā do hirunuingāā cenṭā koge tanaā mente mūṇḍi kedci ruṛung hokā kete akid do kedāe ad etā ko oṛāa' etc guṛulu caoli ge kari an kedāe. A kin hiju lo'te barana' isin kedāe. Tupu maṇḍi bai kedāe, leper aṛna' ṭeo kedāe'. Sinaṛaa' keateñ reṛana, karakden te daa' saā seno janā ad kuṛi oṛā te ayar janāe. Tobe koṛā aori tebare oṛo' misā dārite daa' an seno janāe. Imtang ge maṇḍi utuvā kadā cikā mente, caṭu tavā ko lel tanāe do soben ṭhaoka geā. Aeo okoeā utu puraā sibiliā mente enā aṛāge maṇḍi daā re ḍui tabkedā. Koṛā naūdo hiju lenaci huṛing niige maṇḍi utu ko hopor tanae ad hīrum tedo hukā nu dub janae. Jom tan jom tan koṛā neka kaji tanae-etā rosi utuete do ṭeoā kanā puruā sibil jāiyā. Imatang ge hukā nutan nutan marang ni, koṛāe kāji ruṛā itanā—he mar'. Huṛing ni ge tamā puraā' sibil tadāe, āing do haṛad geāing. Tobe, huṛing ni metai tanae—e dai! nekan hupurung kāji kote ge eperang posāoā—hapātam. Tobe, amo cinā'. Ae saā gem kāji tanā mendo hukā do ked ci udur urung torsā eperang kapāji tan lo' opotāe etc' kedā'. Koṛā jomtan jomtan hokā ben mente khane khane kajiyā kin tanā. Mendo oṛo' teking joreā. Rupucab rapācā te baran kinā supid do raṛā janā ad maeang lijā ko raṭi ugu giṛi janā En reo kin acuā kan geā. Tobe kakin hokā tan ci, jojom hokā kete jāñ lekā abung torsā in kin racaā oco' tanae—do koṛao' mayang botoe kin racaā oco' kedā.

Imtange japaā oṛā' koren ko inkuā kahatā ayum te cikāo tanā ko mente lelel ko hiju lenā do soben ko samā hoṛomo geā (ṭoang geā) ad akoge giute ko usarruṛān janā. Dhiṛakad toyom te lagā jan ci ko hokā janā. Eṭā hulang setā nubā' re marang ni ayā soḡenā poṭom joṭom kete naiharate nirgiṛi janāe. Tayom tedo, bariā kuṛi do do kā ṭhikiyā mente ruṛā o kayā janā.

English version :

MARRIAGE OF TWO WIVES

A man had no brother. Before marriage his parents also died. His fields were very large so he married two women. The wives



used to work inside and outside in turns. Slowly the man became more affectionate towards the younger wife who looked after him. The elder became very jealous. She started thinking through what would the man come to hating the younger wife.

One day when the younger wife accompanied the husband to work outside, the elder wife put some oil in the *goudhuli* (a local cereal) which was to be milled for the next day. She had thought that the co-wife would not be able to mill the oiled *goudhuli* and so would be late in cooking the food and the husband would be greatly annoyed with her and start loving her instead.

Next day early in the morning the husband left for work with the elder wife. The other wife after throwing dung etc. from cowshed started husking the *goudhuli*. Noon came but she could not husk it. To find out the reason she examined it and found out the oil. She understood the hand of co-wife in this. She stopped husking and quickly borrowed some rice from a neighbour's house and cooked it before husband's return.

The husband went to take bath in the river while the elder wife returned home earlier. She saw the hearth and the utensils and found out that the food was ready. She thought of another way. She thought of preparing the vegetable curry better than prepared by the younger wife so that the husband would be pleased with her. She took some pieces of the dry cooked vegetable from the one prepared by the other and added some gravy to it.

When the husband came, the younger wife served him with food and the elder started smoking *hukka*. While eating the man said that the dry vegetable was more palatable than the gravied. The elder wife flared up. She said, "Yes, your younger is more sweet; I am bitter." The other wife replied, "Sister, such trifles lead to quarrel." The elder wife started pushing her out of the house. The man asked them to stop it but the quarrel increased. In the fight the waist knot got loose and their clothes came off. The husband stopped eating, washed his hands and tried to separate them. But the wives instead began pulling the clothes off the husband too.

Hearing the noise the neighbours came there, but seeing the scene they shyly left it. After some time the husband and wives



became tired and ceased fighting. Next day the elder wife packed up and ran away to her father's house.

Thinking that keeping two wives is not good, the husband did not go to bring her back.

Note.—Mention our law now against taking more than one wife and point out how good it is.

MORE HAGEYĀ KO

Moyod orā' re more hageyā ko tain tan taikenā. Inku purā ge ko renge tan taikenā. Janav apan apan ko kamiyā ad mid re ko jojomā. Musing enkāge bar hageyā kin mod muli kin seno janā. Inikin mid tayad re moyod bin kin nam kiyā. Ini' kin goe kiyā ad orā' teking seno janā. Inio kin au kiyā. Ini' sarṃi rekin do kiyā.

En hulaṅge moyod rāni bandā re debel tan taikenā. Moyod gidi apir au ledāe ad rāniyā moyod samarom rá mundam halang kedāe ad atangir kedāe. Rāni lel kāiyāe. Cikātare bayuā. En gidi apir tan apir tan en orā' tae teba' lae' kota' re ci en soyā tan bin taikenā. En binglel ki' ci gidi bin jom hayā kiā. Enātedo mocārea' samarom entare bagetadā ad binga e idi kiyā.

Rāni rājā taé udub kedā ci āiṅga sonā rá mundam moyod gidi atangir kedā. Sipai ko rajāe kul ked koā. Sipai ko dārāñ tan dārāñ tan orā'ko sen nam kedā. Rājā orōko udubā iyāci enā orā' re mundam menā. Rājāe sen janā adae metad koāe ci ape hale apet'a re en kuriyā mundam menā omāiñ pe. Inku metā iyā ci amā tarā rāij omā lem ad aleyā orā're diyā jul tam ad ale mundam le omeyā. Rājā he kedā ad inkuā orā maskal kedā. Oṛo'ko marsāl kedā ad rājā orā'-nubā janā. Diyā lel keyāte soben jiv jantu ko nikutā teko hijú lenā ad inku ko asul ked kovā. Ad ne lekāte inku ruvār janāko.

English version :

FIVE BROTHERS

There used to live five brothers in a house. They were very poor. Daily they used to go here and there and would bring some income home.

One day two brothers went out for some other work. On returning they found a dead snake. They brought it home and put it over the roof.



That day a queen was bathing in a pond. She had kept a finger ring of gold on the bank. An eagle came and flew away with it. Flying it came past the house of the brothers and saw the dead snake. It jumped over it and while picking it, the ring fell down. The brothers became very happy on receiving a golden ring with a diamond in it.

The queen in the mean time told of her loss to the king and he sent a sepoy out in its search. In searching, the sepoy came to the house of the brothers and the king told them to return the ring in place of half of his kingdom.

The brothers said, "King, we are prepared to give you the ring. But we don't want your half kingdom. We only want that one night you do not light lamps in your town, and only our house be lighted that night."

The king thought this was not a very big thing, and did so one day. Throughout the town no lamps were lighted except at the house of the brothers. Due to darkness, all the stray cattle and other unclaimed animals came to this house only. The brothers caught them only and tied them at their house.

Through so many cattle and animals their poverty was gone and they lived a happy life.

Moral.—Each man should seek to be happy in his own way of life.

CATUR KUṚI HON

Miyad samay reā'kaji taikenā ci miyad kuṛi hon merom koe gupi tan taikenā. En gupi tayad' rege miyad gaṛā lingi tan taikenā. Jānāva en kuṛi hon ente gupi har jādko taikenā. Musing do moyod kulā dá nue hiju lenā. En samaya ge enta' rege miyad kaṛkom taikenā. Mendo kaṛkom kulā mocā regee ḍāro kiā. Enāte kulā acakā gee boro kedā. Kulā oco :—oco te asadi giri janā ād man jadae ci okoe netā re menai redo oco tankā. Ente en kuṛi hon ayum kedā ādae hiju lenā. Ād nel kiā do kulā, mendo boro bāge keyāte oco'kiyā. Ād en hulang bae janā oṛó kulā senā janāe. Ād en kuṛi hon merom koe har ked koā.

Eṭā hulang en kuṛi hon ge en sá ge har ked koā. Ad en kula oroe nam kia Ād men jadā ci tising do amain jom meyā metai jay.



Enate kuṛi hon boro kedāe. Nā' do kulā en kuṛi hon ke jomae sanang tanā. Samporon tan lo ge mayang sā te miyad niki sakam re do a kan tāikenā uṛung jad log kulā en sakam nel kedāe.

Anā do hota reni ge jā' men kedci boro kedā. Ādae nirajanā.

English version :

CLEVER GIRL

A girl used to herd goats on a river bank. She used to take them daily there. One day a tiger came there to drink water. On the bank there was a crab. No sooner had the tiger put its mouth in water, than the crab caught it. The tiger got frightened. When he got exhausted in trying to release the mouth, he said, "If there is any one here, come and help me."

Hearing this the girl came. She boldly released tiger's mouth from crab. The tiger went away. The girl came back to the house with her goats.

Next day she again took them there. Suddenly she met the tiger. The latter said, "I will eat you to-day." The girl got frightened.

When the tiger approached her, the girl pulled out her comb from the waist and placed it on a leaf. The tiger saw it and thought it to be the yesterday's crab and ran away.

Moral.—A quick wit to do the proper thing is always of help.

GĀRĪĀ SANGATI

Moyod rājā gangai hera kodā tainae. Aori jaromoā tege moyod birbanā jomae eṭee kedā. Musing rājā ayā dasi ko gangai goṛāte gangai lelee kul ked koā. Tobe do dāsi ko lel kedā ci gangai do soben banā jom cabā jadā. Oṛā' ruṛā lenci rājā ko metai tanā—etā rājā gangai do tabu soben banā jom cabā jadā. Rājā enā kaji ayum kedci isu puraāe kinsa janā aṛōe kaji kedā apeyā ne bānā dobu sende rāiyā. Soben dāsi ko men ketā he gomake mar.

Tobe do musing senderā ko mone kedā. Horā re rājā kajiyā ko tanā ci okoe sāte banā nirā ini' gebu gōiyā. Rājāā kaji ayum kedci



soben senderā senā kan ko boro kedā. Oṛós purāá keṭes ló te gangai goṛā ko kesed biyur kedā. Anādo rajāá bulu songāte ge nirjanā. Rājā sadomare dé janaci banāé kudao kiyā. Banā atā matā bir ko talā tee nirjanā oṛó moyod latāre bolo janā. Rājā ayā cauñrā ar bhauñrā setā kin ló latā dubār japā reko boro kiyā.

Talā nidā hobā janaci bānā rājāe kuli jaáiyā ci rājām ḍurum janā. Rājā kaji ruṛāi tanā mar uṛuño me am geiñ nam tanā. Oṛó isu herāre ci rājām ḍurum janā. Rājā lagā te kabuvā kanee taikenā oṛó purāá peṛā jaked danṛi lá. Tobe khandā oṛó firī kin men jadā mar oṛongo meñ maá giṛi meyā. Enā kaji aium kedci banā oṛóe bapan janā. En kāge banā oṛóe kājiyā—oṛoo cauñrā bhauñrā setā kin metāiyā—mar oṛongo me oṛee cangṛā maling. Tunḍu re rājā ad soben songe hathiyār ko ḍurum janā. Oṛó banā kako kaji ruvārāiyā. Tobe bana uṛuñ janaci rājāe goe kiā. Oṛó poṭāá kiici iniyā ūr te sonó on janā. Rājāa jilue poṭom kedā. Tobe do sadom re de e janaci rājāa oṛā tee hiju lenā.

En rājāa kuṛi taá re moyod koṛā hon oṛá moyod kuṛi hon kin taikenā samay regee goe janā. Oṛoo oṛā re en koṛā hon oṛó kuṛi hon bāṛi kin sare janā. Banā do rājā e baiyākana banā oṛó hiju len ci metā kin tanā—ju bābu jaṭā ko halang āgu ben banā jiluñ au tadā. Lādeyābu. Hon kin sekerā ge kin mone kedā. Sadom in kin loo gee uruñjanā oṛoo parkā saá re meta kin tanānido gangai jom ken banādo. Apung-goe jom kiyā oṛoo iniyā urtee sorova keno. Oṛó apuma jilu e an tadā. Dalābu uirā karedo abe noe jom benā. Neya kaji ayum kedci hon kin isu pura kin huring ji janā oṛó kin boro kedā. Mendo sadom ji raṛee kāji omaá kiñā.

Sadom metā kin tanā mara dee ben ad atā-matā bir ako talā tebu nirā tobe kin dee janā ad sadom atā matā bir ko talā tee idi ked kin. Bir vālā re moyod jagal isu sugaṛā lel kedci sadom metā kin tanā naá do ne dāñva regubutainā. Aiñ tabu ne bunum japā re iñ burumā oṛó aben netā rege gayu bai ben. Api oṛo enataá rege purā din ko tain janā. Rājā hon jarāe maá kedā oṛó rambarā koe her kedā. Guya japá re malan koe rovā kedā. Rambarā teyāró tanaci janāva gāṛi ko jom ko senā. Musing do rājā hon moyod gāṛii dal kiyā. Gāṛi men kedā ho dādā alom goijā musiñ amaa kami jogāovā. Tobe rājā hon ini hokā taā iyā oṛó o mid re kin tain janā.



Iso din hobā janā musing do rājā ko en bir ge senderā ko mone kedā. Gotā bir ko dādra kedā. Jetāni kako mundi ked koā. Tobe do moyod tīkurā reko dub janā. Orō ko jagar tanā. Marāi kotere sengel sukul bulel nameyā. Miyad kāūrān kanran nauvān lel nam kedā—hence rājā eya buruko danae sengel sukul ko lelō tanā. Eiā ko metai tanā koreyā kārdān ale do medā kana ko kale lel jadā amage puraā lel jadā. Sarti geyā hance do sukul lelō o anā. Ju hāi tobe sengel āgulem cungi bu nu leyā ko metāiyā. Nauvān senō janā. Holad doe idi kedā nauvān racātaā tebā len ci holad tiree tīb to jadaloe kaji jadā ci gāi hon ko menāā kore do teya ikā cikā, en looge en kuṛi hon uruṇ lenā. Nauvān en kuṛi ayā sugāror turatunte ti ree had janā. Orō ruvarā len ci rājāe metai tanā kā rājā en orā re moyod dhangari menāiyā alea abuvaā rāni yate purāge sugarā abuā rani do ini japā re jetā iminan baṅgāiyā. Rājāa juri do ne lekan sugar kuṛi hon koī jugutunvā. Rājā enā kaji kae patiā janā oroo eṭaa ae patiyāi tan moyod hoṛoe kul kiā. Iniiyo sengel asi bahanā tee senō janā. Tebā ledci men jadā cigāi okoe menāā peyā sengel omā lepe. Tobe en kuṛi uruṇ lenā oroo sengele omāiyā. En hoṛoā najari do en kuṛi honāā medmuar rege taikenā. Nasāā titedo sengelee telā tanā. Anā do sengelee capu tadā. Ini rājā taā ruṛā len ciमतैताना—hege rājā isuge sugarā menāiyā. Tobe do musing rājā ge lelee mone kedā. Orō en rājā hon kināa orā tee senoo janā. En dhangari lel ki ci rājā purāge sukujanā. Orō ini arāndi purā jor te mone kedā. En dhangari do en koṛā taā re puraā jor te tāin hayā kiā.

Ne soben kāji kāiko bāute kae nel jad taikenā. Ini do singi buṛā-ācu koṛā (gāri) loo jarā koge kin maā tan taikenā. Ne kāji kāmi ko acu koṛā bāri tior jad taikenā. Musing do acu koṛā rājā rājā koṛā orā re hiju konāae agam ked ci rājā honoe metai tana amā dada ai gi ruvāo tanā. Rājā hon metāiyā juvā tobe senoo meñ. En hulada en dhangari rājā koṛā pāṭire ukuliā. Acu koṛā hiju len ci de dāi pāṭi bilāing meñ ruvāo tanāin metaitanā. Dhangari metai tanāne kānta regeyā giti me pāṭi redo alomā. Acu koṛā kae patiyā janā orō en pāṭi racāā ledā. Anā redo rājā menāiyā rājāen looe nīrajanā.

Eṭā hulan orō rājā hiju lenā orō saram ur ree uku taā iyā. Acu koṛā orō ruvāe bain janā. Adae metai tanā am dādā tisingao ruvāo tanā. Juvā tobe seno ome. Acu koṛā hiju lenā am doi dādā dañ ur ko tasi tana metaiñ tanā. Daite metai tanā kāyā

tising do alom tasiyā jeṭeyo kāe jeṭe jadā ; gapā tasi meñ metai tanā. Acukorā men kedā kā dai tising geñ tasiyā men jad loe bolo janā oró ur macae toe or haduru kedā. Anādo an re oró rajā menāiyā. Rājā bapurī oróe nirjanā. Oró isu din tayomate rājā arooe hiju lenā. Oró neyā uru kedci ne gāri orā redo kāe ṭhikinsā (ṭhikindāñ) ; tising do ne dubi bedā kiici acu korā oróá tee hiju lenā. Oróó daite metaitanā amo dai tising do oróñ ruvaio tanā. Khūb jor ta rabang jaā iñāñ.

Daitee metai tanā ne oulā regeyā jirob kó me. Acukorā men kedā kā doi netaá redo kam ituuvā han dubi gārā redāñ. Ondoreyā men jadaloó ge sengelee sab kedā ad kaluu koe atar kedā. Rājā fārā furutan lo janaci nira janā.

En rājā oró rāni kuṛi hon puraá ge kin supukuvā kanā taikenā. Kuṛi begar kae tai dāri tan taikenā. Enā mente oróe hijú lenā. Acu korāvo nikiu kaklu bāpāgeyā mene ayā ṭhor kedaci tundu hulañ do malan jhuñraree ukun janā. Kuṛi mandī utu koe teyar kedci jom nu kedci kin seno ruṛā janā. Oró jarā goṛā taá tee senoo janā. Rājā hon do ne soben kāji kāmī ko kae itu laá.

Tikin janaci orāte kin hiju lenā. An redo kuṛi (misite) do bangāiyā. En taá ko goṭa kin dāñrañ biyur kedā mendo jetā reyo kakin munḍi kiyā. Tobe acu korā men kedā kā dādā huring lekā daá ko'āñ nu leyā enātelañ dāñrāñiyā. Mandī ko jom kedci eté yāte tundu jaked reyā soben kāji koe ulubāiyā. Acu korā bante metaitanā amā dādā moyod janā bāi rikāñme. Janā kin nam kedā Moyod nagerā oró kin nam kedā. Horā re tumbuli ko nili ko nam ked kori "bolope saking hui hui" kin men kedā. Oró soben ko bolo janā. Tobe en rājā koā' hātu kin tebā kedā oróo dāri taáre ki.á tain janā. Acu korā soben daá an kuṛi koā catuko gāñā tee koram rapud kedā. Tobe rājā kine janā ad iní lo gopoe ko uruñ janā.

Acu korā men kedā mar amma pári. Rājā tuiñ kiā tobe janā regee ukun janā. Rājā asādi janā oró mar amā pári metá iyā tobe acu korā udunggope sakin huiñ huiñ udunggope sakin huiñ huiñ mente kāji tanā loó nagañe dalá laá. Soben nili ko tumbuli ko udung janā oró fāñ feñ tan ko tuṛu ked kovā. Tobe rājā hoñe men kedā.

Oro ayā tarā diañme omaá kinā. Ora seterjānāko ini Rājā ayā misihonke arandi omāye. Oroayā misihonke lelekite isupurā rasikā



jānāyē. Baran haga oṛo misikin nāpam jana; oṛo isipurakin rasikāgāna. Acukora tonangte seno ruāra jāna.

English version :

FRIENDSHIP OF A MONKEY

One Raja sowed gongai (bajra). Before harvest a wild bear began eating it. One day the Raja sent in servants to watch the field. They came back and told, "Sir (He, Raja) the bears have eaten all." The raja was infuriated and asked them to hunt the bear. They agreed.

One day the Raja with his men went for hunting. On the way he told them, "Any man who allows the bear escape will be killed." All got frightened and arranged a strong cordon. The bear understood. He escaped from between the feet of the king himself. The Raja rode on a horse and ran after the bear. The bear hid in a cave in a dense forest. The Raja began waiting at the door with his dogs.

Past midnight the bear asked the Raja "Are you asleep?" The latter replied, "You come out; I am searching (waiting) for you."

After some time the bear again asked, "Are you asleep?" The Raja was tired and asleep but his sword and shield said, "You come out; we shall cut you."

The bear asked a third time when the dogs replied, "You come out; we shall tear you."

At last the sword, shield and dogs also slept and when the bear asked, none replied.

Then the bear came out. He killed the Raja and wore his skin. He packed some meat of the Raja in a bundle and rode upon the horse to the Raja's house.

At the house only two children lived; one was a boy and the other a girl. The queen had died while delivering the children. The bear feigning to be the Raja came and said, "Go children, you bring five loads of wood; I have brought bear's meat. The horse accompanied them as they went and on the way told them, "This is the same bear which ate the gongai. He has killed and eaten your father and is



wearing his skin. He has brought the Raja's flesh. Let us run away otherwise he will eat you also." The children started crying.

The horse consoled them and putting them on its back ran away to the jungles. Seeing a nice place there he put the children down and said, "Now we shall live here. I will live near this cliff. You make a hut and live in it." The children did so. The boy cleared the jungles and cultivated *urad* (a kind of lentil) and cultivated beans beside the hut. When the urad was ripe, the monkeys came daily to eat it.

One day the boy caught a monkey and beat it. The latter said "Brother, don't beat me. I will be of use to you some day." The boy then stopped beating it and the monkey also began living there.

Many days after a raja came to hunt in the same jungle. He got no game. Then he and his fellows sat upon a cliff and started talking. From there they saw some fire burning. One said, "See, between the seven hills, there is the fire and smoke rising." Then others asked him to bring some fire there to prepare a smoke. When he came back he said, "There is a very beautiful girl who is more beautiful than our queen." At first the king could not believe this. So he sent another man. This man also praised the beauty of the girl.

Then one day the king with some friends went there. The boy was out and the king and the girl met and began loving each other. They promised to marry each other.

Now they used to meet every day. One day the monkey came to know of this. So he pretended to be ill and went back to the house leaving the boy to go to work. When the girl saw the monkey coming she hid the raja beneath a cot. When the monkey came, he said, "Give me the mattress, I am ill and will sleep." The girl said, "Sleep on the cot, why on the mattress?" But the monkey did not agree and started pulling the mattress. The king fled.

Next day again he similarly came home and the girl hid the raja in the skin of the deer. The monkey said, "Dada has sent me to dry the skin in sun, so give that to me." The girl said, "Today there is no sun, do it tomorrow." But the monkey said, "No" and he pulled down the skin. The raja fled again.

The king came back after some days. He planned to hide himself in the piled garbage. The monkey came and said, "I have fever



and am feeling cold. I will burn the garbage and get some warmth." He did so and then the king again fled.

But the monkey then thought of the increasing attraction between the king and the girl. Having assured himself of their love for each other, he let them go away. The boy could not know this.

When the boy and the monkey returned at noon, the boy started searching for the missing sister. The monkey said, "Well, let us have meals first and then search for her." Then he told everything.

The monkey said, "Dada, make me a drum and a big hammer." Then they set out for the town. In the way they met the bees and the monkey told them, "Friends get into the drum." They did so. They reached the village of the king and camped outside. When womenfolk came to fetch water the monkey broke their vessels by his hammer. The women complained of it to the king. Enraged, the king came to fight.

Monkey said, "First you attack." The king started shooting arrows. The monkey parried all of them by his hammer. Now it was the turn of the monkey. He beat upon the drum and said to the bees, "Come out friends." All bees came out and started biting the king and his men. Raja admitted defeat and gave half of his kingdom to the boy. When they reached home, he also gave away his sister in marriage to the boy who became very happy on seeing his own sister.

Making both brother and sister happy, the monkey left again for the jungle.

Moral.—One good turn deserves another in return.

SĀUAD RIṢṢIDĀR

Moyod mundā hoṛo nimiyangae rengo janāci inī moyod sautaāte riṣṣiṇi kedā. Iṣu dīn hobā janā rayo riṣṣi kae hal daṛi janā. Ena te musing do en sau moyod sipai-e kul kiā en riṣṣi an kad hoṛo do birte e seno kan taikenā. Hon te kuṛi oṛoa regaé taikenā, inī ge en sipai e kuli kiyā ci apum kotāe senā kanā. Enāte en kuṛi men kedā ci apung do sōje muli dāru bankā ti janā. Enāte sipai kuli kiyā ci cimatañ a apumae hijugā. Tobe do kuṛi hon men kedā ci hijū re do kae hijugā ad kae hijun redoe hijugā. Neyā kaji sipai kae buijao janā



ad oráá tee ruřá' janā. Oroá te hijun janaci sau kee udub aiyā ci en hořo oroá re kae taikenā ayā honte kuři nekāe kaji kul kedā.

Isu somay tayom tedo oro sau moyod sipai-e kul kiyā. Sipai hijú len ci hone kuli jāiyā ci apum kotee senā kanā. Kuři hon men kedā ci apuing do janum bakiři janumate bakiři senā kanā. Neyā kāji ayum ked ci sipai ruřá janā ad soben kāji ko sau-e udubaiyā.

Oro enkā ge moyod sipai hijú lenā ad kuli kiyā ci ama engām apung takim kote kin senā kanā. Tobe do en kuři hon men kedā ci engāinga do moyod-e boriyā agu janā ad apuing do hatiyā sangite senā kanā. Janav nekāge hosorovā diku sipai kae bujao janaci ruřá' janā.

Enkā ge oro musing sipai seno janā oro honate kuři gee kuli kiyā ci engām apum takin do kote kin janā; enāte en kuři hon men kedā ci engāing do hon ko tiki goe tiyā ad apuing do ayar tayomente. Sipai marang duku geé too janā ad nisukanao-e ruřá' jan geyā. Ad e udú idi tanā ci nieukan jā'e ko leul kin redo kaing hijugā-niā' kaji kodo kā bujhvā. Enāte isu din tayomte en sipaige oro ko kul kiyā enātedo men ruřá' kedā ci dolañ misāte gelang sen au kovā. Enāte tayom tedo misāte kin seno janā.

Tebā kedci kin kuli jad kovā ci en orá ren bořo kodo kote ko senā kanā. Enā ayom kedci kuři hon udung lenā. Ae kin kuli kiyā ci engām apum takin kote kin senā kanā. Kuři hon men kedā ci engāing do ruā tan hasu tan kovā ti capu tiā ad apuing do punđi re hende baite senā kanā.

Sau ad sipai baran kin kakin bujavā janā ad kin ruřá' janā. Naādo sau urú tanāci cilakāte ne riřiñ au đariovā enāte oro misā sau seno janā ore kuli kiyā ci engām apuing takin kote kin senā kanā. En kuři hon men kedā ci engāing do orāri geyā ad apuing do sirmā disum daā' kesed ti janā.

Enețe eyāte tunudu șonte nekan kāji ayum kedci sau jire urā kedā ci neyā kaji kore canjagar ukuvā kanā enate en kuři hon e metai tanā ci mar neyā kaji bujava taing meñ ad apeyā' soben riřiñ koing arāgā peyā. En kāji ko ayum kedci en kuři suku hapen janay ad e men jadā ci ate sau amiyānga amiyānga bābā takā reā riřiñ ci neyā kaji kote halovā. Sau men kedāci kā marenga bage tađ ju raś agung meñ.

Apute harām orase dab tané taikenā. Enāte harāguna janā ad enāte apute harām sautaā tee hijú lenā. Jovār jager hobā janaci sau



men jadā ci amataa'te aing hiju seno teing lagā cabā janā musingo kam namovā. Enā kāji ko ayum kedci harām men jadā elā sau aing do eimatañ em hijuā kanā ematang oraā regei, taiyākanā ad tisiño am netaā regem namā kāñyā. Naā do honing kuṛi loo ben kāji sida kedā ci soben riñri kong bageyā. Naā do ayum me.

Ene tee re ako somay moyod sipai anigta ae hijú lenā inf honeng kuṛi metaaiyā ci apung soje daru bonkā tiyā ad hijú redo kaye hijugā ad kaye hijú redo hijugā mente metaiñyā. Aing imatañ garā paromate nayal maā senā kan taikenā. Nayal babaiñ do so' jeā bankā, ad garā perego redo kā hijú dari goā ad kā hijú redo hijú dari goā. Enā kaji me honing kuṛi kaji laā.

Orómisā redo honeng kuṛi men kedā ci apuing do janum ko bakiri ti janā. En somayae aing bengārā bakiri reng taikenā. En kāge oko hulan aing tulamainga pivid kenā en hulang honing kuṛi men kedā ci apuing do huṛiyāñ sangi ti janā. En kāge misā oró tam sipai hijú lenā aree metaiyā ci engaing do hon ko tiki goye tiñ janā ad apuing do ayar tayomate. En somayae engāte do rāri dāli rāri jatā tagee ututan taikena ad aing do jirubā kan taikenā. Oko somay engāte do mandii capu tan taikenā en somaye aing likaing ol tan taikenā. Ad honeing kuṛi men kedā ci engaing do ruvā tan ko ti capute seno janā ad apuing do pundiare bende babai te. En lekāge tising aing orāng dab tan taikenā ad honing kuṛi men kedā ci apuing do sirmā dá kesed nagen senā'akanā. Enāte en hoṛoā soben riñri ko hal janā ad sau oroateer ruṛā' janā ad reengee horo purā' sukute taing janā.

English version :

MONEY-LENDER AND THE BORROWER

One Munda man borrowed money due to destitution and hunger. When he could not repay the loan after many days, the mahajan sent a soldier to his house. The farmer was out in the jungles. His daughter was there. The soldier asked her about her father. She said, "He has gone to bend the straight sticks."

"When will he come?"

"If he comes, he would not come ; if he does not come, he would come."



EDUCATION OF TRIBALS IN EASTERN INDIA

The soldier could not follow it and went back and told it to the mahajan. He came again after some days and the girl said, "My father is gone to cordon the thorns by thorns." Not able to follow, the soldier again returned. He again came, and the girl said, "My mother has gone to make one as two, and father to make small big."

The soldier returned and came back again. The girl said, "Mother is cooking children and father is making the back into front." The soldier was perplexed and returned. He decided not to come again. He thought that he cannot get the money and instead he has to be like a fool. But as the mahajan asked him to go again, the soldier requested him to accompany him. So both set out. At the house of the Munda they met the girl and asked about her father and mother.

The girl said, "Mother has gone to see the hand of the sick and father to make white into black."

Both could not follow this. They returned to their homes. The mahajan began worrying about getting back the money. He then went alone to the house of the Munda. He asked the girl about her father and mother.

The girl replied, "Mother is in the house and father is gone to stop the water from the sky."

Now the mahajan began connecting all the antecedent answers of the girl but could not discover the meaning. He asked the girl to explain and he would not want any more money. The girl said, "How can the explanation square up the money to be paid?"

The mahajan promised that it would be so and asked her to call her parents and explain the answers she had so far given.

The farmer was then sitting on the roof to thatch the hut roof. He came down. The mahajan said to him, "Coming to your house I have become much perplexed. Whenever I came, I could not meet you." The farmer said, "When you came, I was always at home. Today also I am here. Now that you have promised to my daughter not to ask for the loan, I will explain to you."

"Firstly the daughter said to the soldier that I had gone to make a straight stick bent and that if I came, I would not; if I did not come I would. I had gone to plough the fields on the other side of the river. The former answer meant my ploughing and the latter about my crossing the river.



Second time she said that I had gone to cordon the thorns by thorns. I was then fencing the brinjal fields with thorny branches.

When the daughter said about making small big, I was using a bow on cotton.

When she said that mother was cooking the children and I had gone to make back of the front, my wife was cooking *tuhar dal* (a lentil) and I was warming myself.

Then when she said that mother had gone to see the hands of sick and I to make white black, my wife was cooking food and I was writing.

Similarly today I was thatching the roof when she told you that I was gone to stop the rain from sky."

The mabajan did as he had promised and returned to his home.

Moral.—A clever answer is always appreciated.

ILI RAA' ENETE'

Apu-lodaro mundāhon-mangarā mundā. Ela abā amado janao ili gem nuvā ne ili okoe-baē ete' laá? He bābu enam kuli tanā, hegā udubaiñ meñ. He mar thaoka ayume me.

Sidā mundā jāti ko isu señrañ ko taikenā. Oró dharmi ko taikenā oró soben bongā koló jagar tan taikenā ko. Oró ote disiun raá rājya cilakā calaokā meneá sangite ko bicār jad taikenā Mid dipli Levā pāhar sing bongā dorvārre dubmente ko salā kiyā. Inia kuṛi Suti buḍhiā taikenā. Levā janao siñhañ bongā dorvār vicaré senó taikenā. Janar hulang neya lel lel te baṛandā bongā hisingā kiā. Ciā ci aé do siñha bongā lo bopāgarao taikenā enā mente kako sen rikā jaá taikenā. Musing hulang Levā siñha bongā dorvār te seno' janā imtā ge inia orā te hijú lenā oró buḍhiā metāi tanā hañrañm tam kotí janā tamā kuiñ asiyā honang. Buḍhiā men kedā he oró am okoe tanme oró koāe tem hijúá kanā. Aling Levaló kumā hatom ling hageá am do iñ hilli meyā ci katebu kabu kupuli tanā neyā kaji ayum ked to buḍhiā godo godo cabā janā oró buḍhiā rinṭe kiyā tae kome kupul ko me manum ló lepel kó ben. He hili thaokā kajige kupul doiñ kupulenā ili taben menā' ci banoá? Buḍhiā men kedā elā bābu cinā' ko iliá enā kaiñ ayumā kadā udubaiñ me neya cikana cija tanā. He hiling, udubā



meiyā ayume meñ. Am biraraá palanā palanā daru raá red ko ur agulem, oró adova caoli raā mandi tiki sakid keyate rare rikālem enā te en rānu lagao tam oró harām dorbār te hiju koci omāi me enā raá rasite puraá gerá rasikā oā' oró iniā jire sinha-bongā e hijuá oró gotā siramū ār ote ren rājāe bāe óā ād'am ranim baeóā ār soben jiv janvār ko abenko jobār benā. Ili akiden gopā koteiñ ruṛā'. Neyā kaji ayum ked te budhiā puraá rasikā janā. Sekarā ge Baranda bongā kajié rikā kedā, oró hārām dorbār te hijú len te hosoro daá é omā iyā. Hārām neyā cikānā tanaá men kaé tor kedā. Mendo bulte ayub dipli purāge ak bakao janā oró kā ṭhaokā jagar ko durang tan landa tan ló en nidāe parom kedā oró iniā soben hobā janā ko siñha bongā lel kedāe ayum kedāe, gapātere ang janā kar kad abung janci Levā pāhār mandi utu jom ked te siñha bongā dorbār te senó tan taikenā. En dipli ge horā re dān ko sen kolong kiyā oró ko metāi tanā aāmā' kuṛi sāitana kaji manating kedāe, ena mente am tising e inia dasim hoba janā oró amā jati kili hon gāṛrā ko iniā latar reko tainā oró iniā tege soben etakana joko nameā. Lele me engā apukin bāiri hone tainā oró iniēte bugin dengā kakin nam jomāo. Janao duku taberre ko tainā. En hulange ete Levā siñha bongā dorbār re dube hoka janā janao ili geye nu janā inike lel te eṭā' koyoko ete kedā oró enkanjom bongā koe sevā janā oko kote cimid eṭā' ni duku ko nam kedā oró bongā koā' horā te hagā hagā re ko eprang janā. Oko hulang ete inku pāpre ko unī janā en hulang ete inkuā hoṛo mo kuilā muthu leka hende janā. Oró inkuā sugarā banó janā ciā ci inku en et kan bongā dāsi oró iniā latar reko tain janā. He abā amā' kaji sakhi mundā ko isu ḍonḍo menā kovā.

English version : (with abbreviations)

HARIYA AS A SOCIAL EVIL AND ITS INTRODUCTION AMONG MUNDAS

BIRTH OF HARIYA

Munda people were very wise in the past and their Leva Pahan was selected by God to sit in His court. Leva's old wife, Suti, used to do all the household work.

When Baranda Bonga saw Leva regularly visiting God's court, he became very jealous. He was an enemy of God. One day when



Leva was out, Baranda went to his house and feigned being Leva's cousin. Suti therefore received him very courteously and requested him to stay till Leva came. Baranda agreed and asked if she could give him some hariya. But Suti was totally ignorant of hariya and asked Baranda to explain what it is.

Baranda explained to her the procedure of making hariya and said, "When Leva old man comes back, give this to him to drink. He would be very pleased and till then keep the hariya. I will come back tomorrow."

Suti did what was suggested to her. The old man drank the hariya and became mad. He sang and shouted all the night. God saw all this.

Next day when Leva headed for God's court, he was stopped on the way by God's attendants. He was asked to go back because he had become a follower of Baranda Bonga. God cursed that Munda people would now become corrupt and foolish and become the slaves of Baranda Bonga and hariya.

From that day Munda people began drinking hariya daily and started worshipping all the demons (bhut) by which others were harmed. Brothers became separate and enemies. Virtues were lost, vices came in.

ILI RAA ENETE

Moyod sādhu taikenā. Tobe inf moyod maina, moyod keyad, inoyod kulā moyod sukuri en kāge etā jānvar koyoé asul led kovā. Inku barābari aé loó te jagar ko itulāá. Okoe jagar orā teko sen tan taikenā. Tobe do en jānvar koge ko jagar darom jaá ko taikenā. Sādhu do musing hulange goe jāna. Ad inf garāte ondor ko idi kiyā. Tobe moino ad keyad kiñ men kedā—elā alang kedo naádo asul langā. Alangā gomke doko rapaá kiā. Alango en jul tan sengel loóge lang gojóo kā king men kedā. Ad en loó re kiñ hojan janā. Ad sareó jan jānvar ko tayom do ko men kedā abuvubu hojanā. Ad ko hojan janā. Seben ko tobe do cimín din lekā hobā janaci entā re sake lekā dāru ko omon janā. Ad tayomate do majā majā daru janā. Ad musing hulang do urli gupi honko umbulen tan taikenā ko ad dāru bakalā ko lax kedā ad ko jom kedā ānādo ko



bal janā. Tobe kā bulānko ko ulub kedā ād oṛā' teko seno janā. Hātu ren horoko le lel ko senó janā do thik geko bāṭi barāmtanā ād ko goó agu kutung āgu led kovāko. Oṛā' redo ko men jadā' ci kā ne hon ko cinā teko cikā janā. Tobe do kā bulā kan ko udubad kovā ci ne daru koraá. Bakalaā' dang ko jom laā' ād ko men jadāci kāyā ne bakalā' kodo mandirebu mesā leyā ko men kedā. Ād mandī reko mesā kedā. Anādo huding ghāṛi rege māndī do galav cabā janā ād mid tāvā redo rasi gīṛi janā. Tobe do en rasi ko lel kedci nūnū ko mone kedā. Nū kedā kodo ko bulā janā. Okoe do maeno lekae jagar tanā, okoe do keyad lekā, ād okoe purā nooe bul janī do kulā lekāe hukkar jadā okoe do sukuri lekae oṛā baran tanā. En lekāge okoe ke ili nū ko raá lee kovā inku do imatungo sādhu lekā ko jagar tanā.

En lekāte ili ranu ko tayom teko bai kedā ād naá do abu ili korebu lagava jadā. Enā ranu kote ge en lekāte ili ranu bai lenā.

English version:

A SATIRE

ORIGIN OF HARIYA

An ascetic lived with a *maina* (*Maina* bird), a parrot, tiger and pig. They were the pet animals of the ascetic.

One day all of a sudden the ascetic died and the four animals took him to the river bank to cremate. There they became worried as to who would look after them from then onwards and full of grief fell on the burning pyre and died.

Few days after this few trees grew up at the cremation place and the villagers came to know that the bark of these trees were potent in making intoxicants. They started making use of it in the rice water. This hariya received the soul of all the five dead creatures.

When drunk, a man becomes first silent as the ascetic, then he starts chattering as the *Maina*. Next he sings like the parrot, then he shouts like the tiger and finally rolls down like a pig.

Moral.—For this reason one should not take to drink.



THE HOS OF SINGBHUM

The Ho tribe of Chotanagpore speak a language of the same family as Santals and Mundas. Culturally also they are similar to these tribes although there are some differences in social customs. In 1941 the Hos numbered a little less than four lakhs—actually 383,737, having increased their population to this extent from 1931 when they were 338,827 in number. If this rate of increase has been maintained, they probably number now well over four lakhs and a half. The Hos, unlike Santals and Mundas have migrated but little from their areas of settlement in the Chotanagpore plateau adjoining Orissa States. Ninety per cent. of the total Ho population is to be found in the Singhbhum district. The Hos are not however the original settlers of this area. They seem to have been closely connected with Mundas and to have come from the north, i.e., the Munda area of settlement, and driven out the earlier folk who included among others the Bhuiyas.

The Ho country is full of small hills and undulating plains. The villages are normally built on high ground, the houses forming rows, usually running east to west. The houses may have one or more huts according to the means of the owner. The wall is of mud but it may be of reeds and grass in bamboo frame and thatch of a special kind of grass; occasionally the roof is of country tiles. The ground plan is rectangular. The kitchen and eating room has an inner portion known as the Ading set apart for ancestors. There is a raised platform here for making offerings to ancestors.

The Hos seem originally to have been a hunting tribe and like Santals and Mundas, learnt food growing at some ancient time from the advanced folk in India practising agriculture. In general, in the Kolban, as the protected area where Hos live is termed, the village land is communally held with usufructuary right of the cultivator family. The earlier practice was no doubt like that of Mundas, of each family cultivating what it could, and the headman having an extra share for his service to the community. Under the changes brought about during British rule, the headman came to be somewhat like a landlord. His post became hereditary. Alienation of village land was not permitted and the headman could not settle outsiders without the permission of the



Deputy Commissioner. Similar regulations were put in force also in the Santal protected area, the Damin-i-Koh in the Santal Parganas. But as the bulk of the Santals live outside this area, this regulation had not affected the greater number of them. For the Hos it is of importance as they live almost all of them in the Kolhan.

Hunting is now a subsidiary occupation, the mainstay being agriculture. Fishing is also done in natural pools and in streams. Now-a-days tanks are owned or leased and fishing is done there as well. Large numbers are employed also in the mining and other industries that have developed in the Singhbhum district. The Gua mines and the great steel industry in Jamshedpore furnish livelihood to many of them. Both in fishing and in cultivation of land the Hos have preserved part of their earlier tradition of co-operative work in the village. In fishing in an owned or leased tank the owner or lessee invites or at least used to invite until recently his villagers and others to participate in fishing. He would take half the catch, while those who caught the fish would take the other half and share it among themselves. Such communal practices are however on the decrease. In cultivation also, several villagers may work together jointly to plough a plot of land with their several ploughs working together. It is understood that this service will be reciprocated by the owner of the land when the fields of his helping villagers are to be ploughed. If reciprocation is not possible, payment is made for services of this kind. Both upland rice as well as transplanted rice is cultivated by Hos. Pulses, vegetables and maize are also grown. The women collect edible herbs in the forest. When hunting was not restricted by forest laws, the diet of a Ho was supplemented by flesh of game killed. The usual drink is rice beer and is termed Diang or Illi.

Formerly the Ho dress was like that of other tribes—a coarse locally woven sari for women and a narrow waist cloth for men, as well as a body cloth and turban for ceremonial occasions. At present they dress like their Hindu and Christian neighbours, except in the interior of their settled area.

The Hos are divided into a number of patrilineal Kilis, which are comparable to Hindu gotras and pass from father to son. Marriage within the Kili is not allowed and sex relations between Kili members will lead to outcasting. These Kilis or clans as they would be technically termed may be named after plants, animals



or material objects. There is generally a rule that the plant, or animal or object from which the Kili takes its name should not be injured by a member of the clan. While the wider grouping is termed Kili, the members of the patrilineage, i.e., persons related by remembered ties of descent through male ancestors such as father, his brothers, the father's father and his brothers and their patrilineal descendants and such kinsfolk form a group known as Haga. This is an effective unit in ceremonies, where Kili members are not necessarily called to join. A village in Kolhan may be inhabited by members of a single clan, mainly members of a Haga, or by more than one clan. It is likely that as among Mundas, the founders of a village settled with their agnatic kin and with growing members of their descendants, the village became a single Kili village. It might however happen that relatives by marriage might also come and settle there as also friends. A multi-clan village might thus develop. But the founder's family and clan would remain the most numerous and important section in the village. It will supply the village headman, known as Munda. Several such villages are grouped in a Pir, under a superior headman known as Manki. In the early days the Hos had these officials as their village representatives. After British occupation of this part of the country they were utilised for indirect rule of the tribe and given certain powers under the authority of the Government. The Deuri is the sacred headman or village priest. He is in charge of village worship. The post has become hereditary in certain families. Originally he also came from the village founders.

In the village the family is an important unit. Children are brought up by parents, in the father's house, as girls live in their husband's house after marriage. Education in manners and traditions is imparted there. A good deal is learnt by imitation of elders. The boys follow the elder brothers and the father and the girls imitate elder sisters and the mother. At the dances in the village akhara, they observe and try to imitate the steps of the dancers. There are no formal dormitories among them as found among Mundas or Oraons. These are reported to be found only in a few areas close to Munda settlements, but there are said to be informal groups of adolescents, who keep together somewhat like the youth in dormitories. More advanced training in social duties and in village work is received through these informal units.



When children grow up, parents set about getting them married. If a young man has fallen in love with a girl he has met at dances or fairs, he may let his parents know through friends. In any case in the ceremonial Andi type of marriage, a go-between is selected to carry on negotiations. The pattern, of observing omens, of visiting the house of the girl to see if she will be suitable and of the boy for the same purpose as well as of the ceremony of marriage is closely similar to that of Mundas and Santals. The initiative in negotiations is invariably taken by the boy's parents. In the course of the negotiations the amount of the Gonong or payment for the bride has to be settled. The amount, converting payment in kind to price in rupees before 1938 would come to about one hundred rupees before the war besides the cost of one feast to villagers. Owing to the difficulty of getting together so much cash and kind, other forms of marriage which cost much less are getting more frequent. In 1954, the Gonong had doubled in amount and the total expenses for both sides went well over Rs. 500. In the form of marriage known as Apartipi, the girl is taken away by the young man with the help of some friends, when she is outside her village, going to or returning from work or from a dance perhaps in another village. She is taken to the home of the young man and there accepted as his wife. At present the abduction of a girl being a criminal offence, the Apartipi pattern is repeated only after the boy and girl have come to an understanding. It is more a running away to the boy's house but as this is socially disapproved, the show of force in taking the girl there has remained. Apart from Apartipi, a number of marriages take place by mutual agreement of the man and woman. It is known as Rajikhusi. There is little ceremony in this case beyond formal social notification of the event. It is usual for some kinsfolk, and the headman to be invited and offered drinks at the ritual. Owing to the high cost of the Andi form of marriage the frequency of this type is decreasing and the cheaper types increasing in proportion, although the ceremonial type carries a certain amount of prestige with it. Nowadays a Brahmin is sometimes called to fix an auspicious date for marriage. This is clearly due to recent Hindu influence.

There is another type of marriage the Anader, or intrusion marriage reported to be prevalent in Kolhan. The pattern is the same as for Nirbolok among Santals. When a boy has been making love



to a girl and then cools off, she may force him to accept her as wife in this way. This is not however found among Hos of Seraikella.

If a girl has been indiscreet in bestowing her favours and conceives when unmarried, some one is persuaded to take her as wife to legalise the birth of the child. If the girl can say who was father of the child and he is marriageable, he will under threat of punishment have to take her. Otherwise he will be made to pay a fine which will mainly go to the man who marries the girl. Premarital sex relations occur at certain festivals and also on other occasions ; but a girl who is free with her favours is not usually selected for marriage by Ho young men. Incestuous unions lead to outcasting.

Pregnancy in a married woman carries with it certain taboos. She cannot brew Illi and she has to avoid certain kinds of food. When the child is born, the husband and wife come under pollution for eight days. On the last day of pollution the baby's head is symbolically shaved by scraping one point with a razor. The father then shaves and both parents take a bath. Offering of rice beer is made to ancestors and then drinks go round members of the family and members of the Kili. Members of the Kili are also fed ceremonially on another day. Naming takes place sometime later. The Deuri of the village comes by invitation. The actual name is decided either by observing some mark on the body which a deceased ancestor is known to have had, or in the absence of such marks, by divination with grain dropped on water, as among Mundas, mentioning a name for each grain dropped.

Death customs of Hos resemble that of Mundas but differ in certain respects. The body is not carried in a rope cot to the place of cremation. A coffin-like structure of wood is prepared and the body is placed in it. This is carried by women. After cremation the calcined bones are collected and kept in a small earthen pot pending final disposal by the Jang topa ceremony. This last ritual is now participated in only by members of the extended family and not all Kili members of the area as earlier. Close relations of the mother's family also attend. It is no longer joined in by the entire community, although a feast is still given to villagers on such an occasion. A large stone is ceremonially erected over the place where the calcined bones are formally buried. Occasionally, there may be no cremation but



only burial. In such case the stone is erected near the grave. The final bone disposal and erection of a memorial stone may occur after several years until means permit.

Immediately after burial or cremation, the soul of the dead is called back to the house, to stay in the "ading". There is a kind of dual belief, of the soul of the dead staying in the house in the sacred place for ancestors, and also apparently under the memorial stone.

The annual cycle of Ho life links their agricultural cycle and their earlier hunting life with their social ceremonies and festivals. The season for cultivation of paddy begins with early March or even two weeks earlier when land is ploughed up. Upland rice may be sown a little later. It is also the season when Sal flowers bloom. The Baba festival is held at this time. It is the festival to collect Sal flowers and Mohua flowers (a little later). Forests are ceremonially rendered safe for visits to collect these. Winter paddy which is transplanted may be sown in seed beds in April-May and transplanting occur in July or a bit earlier depending on rainfall and irrigation facilities. The Hero festival is held in this season. The ceremony is held to ensure that the paddy plants do flourish. Another festival the Batanli—is for safeguarding millet crops. There is also another festival with worship—the Jamnama—to celebrate the harvesting and eating of new rice. The threshing floor is blessed by yet another festival, the Kalam. The biggest festival of the Hos is however the Maghe, celebrated after the winter crop has been harvested. It is held usually sometime in January or February. A good deal of dancing, drinking and of singing of erotic songs occurs on this occasion. The festival lasts five days. Love making is common and marriages occur following it. In Seraikella area the festival is held on four days. In that part of Ho country, another festival connected with hunting, and known as Sanghar Bonga, is held in March-April at the time of the annual hunt of the Hos.

A festival for promoting welfare of domestic cattle is held at about the time of Diwali. It is held on two days and is known as Gyat and Bandhna festivals. In all these festivals sacrifices of fowl, and in some cases of goat and sheep are made. The pattern of worship is similar to that among Mundas.



A few songs and folk tales are noted below :—

A song of Sowing (Hero song) :

1. Ramkin Lokhon Kin Hanuman bir Kin
bololena chauda barsa Kin banavasa
Ramkin Lokhonkin Hanuman bir Kin
bololena chauda barsakin banavasa
Lankare Rabon raja jogirup jante Sita chura.

English Translation—

Ram and Lokhon and Hanuman
Have into the forest gone
Fourteen years in exile to spend
Raban king of Lanka as a jogi has Sita stolen.

Note.—The Hindu Mythology used in the song is self-evident. Modern influence is seen in the other Hero songs noted below :—

2. Soropo soropo to natia natiato
Hatici sadomko ludu ludu
Hatici tan sayop, sayopei tan topi
Topici tan catom, leber leber.

English Translation—

On the way moving to and fro
There are numerous elephants and horses
On the elephant is a Saheb, on Saheb
is his topi
Above the topi is an umbrella
Shaking in the wind.

3. Hajar lika Singi turo
Lakh like cando mulu
Biddago buddi bano disum
Hende uub' ege.
Hara casi manmi honko
Cilka disumedo Kharabentana
Diku casi manmi honko
Mit melbe mita ako
Cilika pakado dolanko tolakara.

*English Translation—*

Even if thousands of sun shine
 And lakhs of moon light up
 In the absence learned and intelligent men
 The place remains in the dark.
 All the peasants do not work together
 How bad the land is becoming
 Those peasants who follow diku methods
 Have learnt united to work together.
 They have built pukka houses (to live in).

Note — Emphasis may be laid on the earlier Ho village unity now breaking up. The importance of organising agricultural co-operatives as envisaged by the Prime Minister in his recent speeches, may be explained in this connection.

4. Soropo soropte Ranchi soropokote
 Kulikaminkete ludu ludu
 Marbo Kulin Koa marbo jagarkoa
 Cimin cimin cekon lalatala
 Haere korom kopai, haere nasib jiban
 Takapoesa doke cabatana
 Laege rengetege dage tetangtege
 Taka poesa doko cabatana.

English Translation—

Along the road of Ranchi town, along the road
 Working men and women, in crowd we move
 We ask each other, we talk we ask
 How much work, what kind of work?
 For alas our fate is such, our luck, our life
 All our money is spent and gone
 Hungry is our inside, for water we thirst
 But no money there is, to meet our need.

5. A Baha song :
 Rila mala cire jilap jolop
 Tulsire doge tal gulap bara
 Raimati rani kopaler tika
 Bale balerkin, juring jana



Phirogo phirogo, delogo delogo
 Tulsire doga tal gulap bara
 Nale dole lele kinaga
 Ale dole cina kinaga
 Bale balerkin, juring jana

English Translation—

Clean and fresh, and bright appears
 The tulasi buds and the red rose flower
 Raimati our queen with tika on forehead
 Now unite the couple, together they come
 Turn and turn about, let us see
 The tulasi buds and red rose flower
 We see them, we watch, we know
 As the couple unite, and together come.

Note.—It is a song of dance, with flower decorations. Hindu Vaishnav influence is also apparent here.

6. A Baha song, describing the ritual :

Oa do guri kida
 Ilaci Marang
 Sarajom baha ara gonme
 Racad kio guri kida
 Ilaci hureng buru
 Telaiba osoren
 Hatu Munda, hatu Diuriga
 Srimaria sarajom u bara
 Leong kecong mud bata tei
 Tika sindur teko birin kida.
 Aragu kiang busari
 Aragu kiang bu
 Papara ganru
 Lota nute date
 Abong kianbu.

Free English Translation—

The house with guri has been cleaned
 The big mountain Ilachi for sal flowers we climb
 The small mountain we reach
 For the buds and leaves to gather



The yard is also cleaned
 The Munda and Deuri now,
 Of our village will the flowers worship
 For the worship they buy
 Vermilion and the like
 And in a basket tray they fetch
 The Deuri as he comes
 His feet are washed
 With lota in hand, as
 On a wooden stool he sits.

Maghe songs are usually about love; but there are philosophical ponderings in some of them ; also pure fun.

7. A love song of Maghe :

Salangi reyom, batari reyom
 Esel reyom, berel reyom
 Singbonga baiter murtu
 Lel inege sanaina
 Ama celera lel korte
 Jige anjan sarupjena.

Free English Translation—

She is tall, she is slim
 She is fair, she is young
 Singbonga has fashioned a woman trim
 Seeing her, I want her
 The sight of her youthful figure
 Has drawn my soul to her.

8. Here is a Maghe song warning a girl against being free of her favours.

Inga anu janamlan mia
 Singbonga jibon tan mia
 Na tamdo sapa mayom
 Na tamdo sapa bara
 Hende pundi uruko jumurentena
 Nin mayom goso jande
 Nil bara maeta jande
 Hende pundi uruko beta bagea

Singbonga bail murtu
Samage sino jana.

Free English Translation—

Father and mother have birth given
Singbonga has life put in
The blood was then pure and fine
The flower was pure and clean.
Now insects so many have entered
The blood is pure no more
The flower is full of dirt
The insects inside have left at last
Creation of Singbonga
It has been all a waste.

9. Here is another Maghe song warning against thoughtless frolic.

Ulibara jumur jumur
Jojobara jumur jumur
Jumurente disom Kocare
Mapareda jibon senoa
Tupung redo jobon senoa
Ayar tayong alom hitaya
Sathi go taben me

Free English Translation—

The flowers of mango in clusters bloom
The flower of Tamarind in bunches blossom
The men of the land have thus together come
A blow of an axe and life departs
An arrow pierces, with death it hurts
Neither to front nor behind.

10. Modern sentiments are developing extending from the village and Pir to Singbhum as a whole.

Singbabhumi hasarebu janamlena
Singhalekan paitibu ri kaygeeya
Janam nenga disum nelaga
Kili milibu seba singareya

*Free English Translation—*

In the earth of the land of lion born
 Like lions let us show our might
 Motherland to serve, that our eyes delight
 To love, and with gifts to adorn.

The tales noted are mainly of traditional origin but show some Christian mission influence. Majumdar has given a tale of the more usual type in his monograph as noted.

The animal story in a different version from that of Majumdar, is noted first.

BUIDU BURA ONDO CHUTU REYAKA HANI**"HO KAJI TE BODOL"**

Neya miyad munureyā kāhānī tānā ci miyād buidu burā nutum burā hor āyā ote si tāt tāt kena. Imitang miyād cutue sinamliya. Buidu burā goji teyā nam tana, men do cutu Buidu burāye kajiayi tana ci ayi Buidu bura. Alom gojinga anj miyād esu bugin kajin kajiya meya. Ena mente bura cutu lijare poro makite orāte idi kiyā. Cutu mit ciputu bābā jom tāt lo Buidu buraye kajiayi tānā ci tisi ama orate tuyu ko sim jojom ko hujua. Enamente duam duar japa re miyād dātārom sabakaete dakua kanome cimitan tuyu ko boloa data rom te tonba kome. Buidu bura cutu kāji ayi tāt lekā ge sāben tuyu koye tonba ked koa. Men do bandiya tuyu kaji keya ci okom reya ape ge sim ko toa ked peya? Buidu Bura ge tatarom te tonba ked peya. En canava Buidu bura olyanete tuyu koye har ked koa. Eetā mujing tuyu ko Buidu Burā a merom hon ondo midi ko jom teyā ko bicar kedā Nen bicāro cutu āyum kedā ondo Buidu burāe kajiāyi tana ci tian tuyu ko midi merom jom te ko hujua. Am miyād mongāru saba kate duar jāpā re dakua koname cilika tuyu ko merom midi ko sabteko boloa āmangrē korām kome. Enamente Buidu burā sabet tuyu ko miyad-miyad to kodam ked koa. Cimitan bandiya tuyu bolo tan re onda keda eute ayar ghatna koe adan tan lo kaji keda ci ohon reya midi ko ro petana? Buidu bura ge koram hujua kad peya. Enete tuyu nireyana.

English Translation—

It is an old story that one day an old man named Buidu Bura was ploughing his field, and turned up a (field) rat. Buidu Bura



wanted to kill the rat ; but the rat said, " Oh Buidu Bura, do not kill me. I will do you a good turn." So he tied the rat in a cloth (into a bundle) and took it home. Here the rat while eating a handful of paddy said, "Buidu Bura, the foxes will come today to your house intending to eat your fowls. So you should hide behind the door with a sickle in your hand and strike them as they enter." Buidu Bura acted accordingly and hit all the foxes. But the tailless fox said, "When did the fowl peck you? It was Buidu Bura who struck you." Afterwards Buidu Bura came out and drove away all the foxes. On another day the foxes again planned to steal the lambs and rams in Buidu's house. This discussion also the rat heard and told Buidu Bura, "Today the foxes will steal your ram. So hide behind the door of the ram's fold with a mallet in hand. When the foxes enter, hit them." So Buidu struck the foxes one by one : when the latter asked the tailless fox to enter, he having realised beforehand, said, "When did rams butt you? It is Buidu Bura who has been hitting you." Then the foxes fled.

Note.—The moral may be stressed that if you do a good turn to one, you will receive back another good turn.

UPAN-JAPAN JAGAR

"HO" JATI KO MYAD MENAJA KO MENEAN

Singbonga nen disum do dage (jalakar) bai ayar leda. Ente ayar utar do disum marsale lagid singi candu ondo ikil (torgan) ko'e sirjon ayar leda.

En canab da ren jibo jantu ko cilika haku, horo, coke, genda, lendad, doudobing, cidu, uru, tayan, da cenren ko men lekae sirjon keda.

En canab da cetan re ote disume bai keda. En basa disum cetan re bir tondang te e pere leda. En tondang bitar re kili mili buding marang apiren ve, cenren, ciparu, soromiru, jantu kore urri, kera, mindi, merom, seta, bilaye, tuyu, bir jilu, emane sirjom keda.

Canab utar bariga hor king kora miyad kuḍi miyade e sirjon keda.



In kin do sabin jibo jantu koete buddhi doe om taa tad kin han. In kin ge pura e rasna tea. En honr kin do thayad thayad re nimir barsing neleka ko nutuma kin han. Upan japan kin, misiya bareya kin thotho haram thotho buri, haram daram kin, alga haram cilgi buri, pilacu haram pilaci buri men leka.

Haram etebu hitakan lagir "har" bu menen tana.

Singbonga nekin tain lagid miyad thayada e bar leda. Nida pang do nen bor kin tuku tala taye tekin gitia.

Singbonga en canab ondo ge apiya hankar koe sirjon keda mido do barala, ondo mido do mageya, mido hankar ge.

Musing betar en barala hankar en upan japan kin taa sene yante tuku hurala rae ben meta kin tanaye. Pilacu haram do kaya kena. Pilaci buri tuku hurala era keda. Ente nida do tuku bano tekin giti kena. Ente en mida ete kin napameyana. Gapater singbonga nen paithi atkar kedaye. Ente sarra ked kin a. Tising ete anyanya kaben nel naminan. Anyanyan rup do singi reben malea. En betare ete singbonga ukuyana.

Singbonga kurkure yante mageya hankar kula rup bai kii te en hor kin taa e kul idi kia. Borote buru buru tondang tondang kin nir ba kena. En dipali in kin an duku desauli bonga nel keda ente aya furi nage-era in kin do uku ler kin an. Ena mente nanan jake mage porobare nage bonga udub eto led. Mage porob hoban tana. Nage bonga mageya hankar kula kante e jom kin tan dipali haradu led king an.

Mage porob ben manating re enang nen mayea doe bage bena. Kab na redo e jom goya bena.

En nage bonga eto led mage porob nanan jake abu hor jati ko manating tana. Nen leka manating ben meta king tanaye.

Dastur :—

Ote bonga, mobaburu desauli, gomahara, gurri bonga. Men leka.

Tales of Traditional Origin.

The traditional tales of origin and the origin of various customs as given in English here are more elaborate while the Ho version as furnished by the informants is much shorter. The English translation includes elaborations made in Hindi by the informants when explaining. For the purposes of the manual such inclusion is useful as showing in some cases present-day borrowing of traits. There is also a good deal of "rationalisation" at explaining customs.



En nage undure taiya kante gel bariya kara hon ko.

Ena mente nanan jake porobare gelbar taa ko punjiya.

Baroba aiya hon kin do guruabba kin taiyana. Canaba moreya kora moreya kuri re airandi hobayante disumren hor hopon ko sirjon hobayana.

Nen aiya korahon ko disum ko bai keda mente nanan jake oe dastur horo hopon kore mena gea.

Munu mana an upan japan pilacu haram pilaci buria gel baria hon kore marang hondo "aham" haram en canabai do "Munu" haram ge. Neking do akoren guruabba kin taihena. Ar moreya kuri hon en moreya misi kuri kolo O anandi hobayante disum ren hor hopon ko cange hena.

En hisab lekate moneya tanaga kili reko hanthing hena. Ako ako ge anandi kena. Enare kaji neyan taikena ci aiya pathake bitaren koloha anandi ka hoba daiya. Cimin jorong yug reka ge hoban tan taikena. Ho ko sange hanare nen aiya pathake hisab isuko muskil hena. Anandi dipali kako leka hisab joma. En muskil atom natin ahato haram ondo munu haram upae kedte soben hor hopon ko jete kili reking hathing ked koa.

Cilika :—

Devgam, purti, hembraon, soren, hansda, topano men leka isu pura kili reking hathing ked koa.

Apan apan kili re anandi do ka habana. Etha kili etha kili re anandi hoban teya dastur ko bai keda.

HO FOLK-TALES COLLECTED FROM KOLHAN

(Village Pampra, Dist. Singhbhum)

THE STORY OF CREATION OR "UPAN JAPAN"

At first this world was just a mass of water. The Supreme Being or the "Sing Bonga" got fed up of looking at just a vast stretch of water with no life in it. So he took it on to him to create animals who would inhabit those waters. With this end in view he started creating the aquatic animals, one after the other, till all the animals that are found today inhabiting the tanks, the rivers and the sea



were created. The aquatic animal to be created first were the fishes ("haku" or "hai"). They quite happily lived in the water after coming into existence. Then "Sing Bonga" created the tortoise ("horo"). But the tortoise is an animal which likes land and sea alike. So it went down to the bottom of the sea, and started digging and throwing up mud above the water. Soon small islands were created all about dotting the watery landscape, and after a long time, some of the islands were joined by further addition of mud and gave rise to long stretches of land. "Sing Bonga" had a look at the land, and a desire to create some life on them came to him. So he first decorated these with various types of plants. But these plants did not satisfy his creative mind. So he created all the wild animals to live in them. Even then "Sing Bonga" did not feel happy. So, at last, he created a couple of human beings, who were the first man and woman to live in the earth. They are known in different names. Some call them simply Haram and Daham, others call them Pilchu Haram and Pilchi Buri, or Tota Haram and Tota Buri. They are also referred to as Chilga Haram and Chilgi Buri by some. Anyway, this couple, who are commonly known as "Haram", which means very old persons or ancient leaders, lived on this earth for a long time. Their progenies are the Hara or the Ho (two-footed beings)—the present-day mankind. When "Sing Bonga" created them, he also invested them with a portion of his own spirit. He loved them more than any of his other creations for this reason, and so came to visit them every morning, when he told them what fruits or roots or leaves are most delicate in taste and nourishment, and the Haram ate these, roamed about the whole day and lived very happily for sometime. "Sing Bonga" also showed them nice and comfortable places to sleep in at night. Only, he told them to strictly observe the rule of sleeping with a threshing stick ("tuku") placed between them.

After some time "Sing Bonga" started feeling bored with his creation. Because every life that he had created were filled with goodness, every living being obeyed him implicitly, and there existed no element of badness. Now, if there is no badness in a place, no evil thought or deed amidst the creation, how can the good things, good deeds and good thoughts be truly appreciated. So "Sing Bonga" created the Satan or the "Hankar Bonga". This Hankar



is really one spirit, which has three names attributed to it for three different types of evil deeds that it performs. These names are "Magea", "Baram" and "Hankar".

One day "Baram" went to the "Haram" and told them to throw away the "tuku" and sleep side by side at night. But Pilchu was a good god-fearing man. So he objected to such an idea and the couple kept on sleeping as before. But "Baram" started meeting Pilchi whenever she was alone and every time he met her alone, he coaxed her to throw away the threshing stick and see the fun. One evening Pilchi could no longer contain her curiosity. So she threw away the "tuku" just before Pilchu came home. Although Pilchu was very much annoyed at Pilchi's thoughtless act, they had no way of amending it, and so they lay down to sleep side by side at night. While they were asleep, since there was no barrier between them any more, their naked flesh came into contact, which roused their passion and they united sexually that very night.

On waking up next morning they realised the full extent of their sin. They had disobeyed the only stricture that their Creator had given them. So in shame and sorrow they hid in a nearby bush when it was the time for "Sing Bonga" to come and visit them. Soon after they had hidden, "Sing Bonga" came to their sleeping place and found it empty. He searched everywhere and shouted himself hoarse. At last the pair emerged from their hiding place and came before "Sing Bonga" after covering their private parts with leaves and hands. "Sing Bonga" at once knew what had happened. This annoyed him extremely and he told them that he would lay a curse on them for disobeying his command. He cursed Pilchu, that henceforth he would not show them from where to get their food, but Pilchu would have to find it or produce it by working hard. To Pilchi he said that she would give birth to a child as a consequence of what she and Pilchu had done, and that she would feel a great pain on that occasion as also on all future occasions when she gives birth. Further, "Sing Bonga" said that he would never be visible to them in future. But he would invest the Sun ("Singi") with a part of his beauty and power, and if the "Haram" really loved and respected him, they would worship the sun every day in the name of "Sing Bonga". Saying all this, he disappeared for good. That is why the Hos to this



day worship the sun facing east in the morning and facing west in the afternoon and they never pray at noon since it is not possible to face the sun at that time.

After this, "Sing Bonga" went away to his abode, but his anger against the "Haram" did not subside; on the other hand, it increased. He decided to persecute them by setting "Hankar Bonga" against them. With this end in view, "Sing Bonga" turned Magea into a ferocious tiger and sent to the place where the Haram stayed. Magea the tiger soon found them and started chasing them in order to kill and eat them up. The "Haram" also started finding places to hide in order to save their skins. But one day Magea surprised them at close quarters. The "Haram" fled in fear of their lives, and the tiger also chased them. When they were practically caught by the tiger, the couple came across a "sal" (*Shorea robusta*) tree, which had a big hollow a little way up* in its trunk. The couple quickly climbed up to it and hid in the hollow. They dared not go out even for food or drink for seven days and nights. Then, when they could no longer stand hunger and thirst, they surreptitiously got out of the hollow, and avoiding the guarding tiger, took a good drink from a nearby stream. They actually made cups out of "sal" leaves and drank water from it. When they were thus quenching their thirst, "Deshauli", who is also known "Jahera Buri" or "Sharna Bonga", who is really the wife of "Sing Bonga" saw their plight and out of sympathy for them, went to her husband and requested him to have mercy on them. "Sing Bonga", in answer to her appeal for mercy, said that, if she really felt so sorry for them, she ought herself to take all the responsibility of Pilchu Haram and Pilchi Buri in future. But "Deshauli" was not at all sure if she was capable of taking the responsibility of the future mankind, so she tried to impress "Sing Bonga" with the fact that since he was so much respected by men and animals alike, none else could save the couple from this danger and look after their welfare in future. Also, in future the descendants of these two persons might not care for her.

* The concept of Satan and of sin in having children is due to Mission influence. In the Santal tale of origin, the gods design them to have children. The social educator may utilise this part of the tale to bring in family planning and the need of temperateness in union of man and woman which should be treated as something normal and not at all sinful.



At that "Sing Bonga" assured "Deshauli" that he would see to it that in future the human beings would respect her more than him, and would worship her on all occasions. This satisfied "Deshauli", and she went and conferred with her friend the goddess of water, whose name is "Nage-era" or "Bindi-era".

Then, one day, as the "Haram" went out to drink water in the morning, somehow the tiger spotted them and again gave them chase. Pilchu and Pilchi saw that their retreat to the hollow was cut off. So they took to their heels in the direction in which a beautiful lake was situated inside the deep forest. In this lake "Nage-era" and a spider "Bindi-era" lived. When "Nage-era" saw Pilchu and Pilchi, she quickly took them to a tunnel in the ground and hid them there. The spider then quickly spread a web over the mouth of the tunnel.

In a few moments Magea reached the place and found "Bindi-era" alone. He asked her if she had seen a man and a woman around the place. But though she said that she had not seen any one, the tiger suspected the tunnel in the ground as the hiding place of the couple. But "Nage-era" drew his attention to the spider's web on the mouth of the cave and asked him to think how any human being could get into the tunnel without disturbing the web, when even a fly cannot go past a web without getting entangled in it. This argument appeared to be quite satisfactory to the tiger and he went off into the forest again in search of Pilchu and Pilchi. The couple stayed in the tunnel for a long time in peace. "Nage-era" regularly gave them food and drink, she also advised them as to how to live in peace, build huts, produce or collect food; and above all she taught them how to pray to "Deshauli", after telling them that it was she who had actually directed her to save them from the wicked Magea. She informed them that because they had incurred the wrath of "Sing Bonga", they had been attacked by Magea, and they would be in that peril so long as they did not properly satisfy "Deshauli", their Saviour, with prayers and sacrifices. This "Deshauli Bonga", they were informed, lived in the groves of ancient "sal" trees. She was invested with the power of making rains and driving away sorrow. She also kept the account of births and deaths and was charged with the welfare of the whole animal kingdom. She had derived all these powers from "Sing Bonga". So if Pilchu and Pilchi really wanted to see "Sing Bonga",



they should look at the rising and the setting sun every day and think of "Sing Bonga".

"Nage-era" also taught Pilchu the actual procedure of worshipping "Deshauli". She mentioned that "Deshauli" must be offered those items of food which Pilchu and Pilchi enjoyed most. As Pilchu and Pilchi had lived on the fruit known as "Lama Jung" that grows in the creeper called "Rung", they decided to offer it to "Deshauli". They worshipped "Deshauli" in the way shown by "Nage-era" to get rid of Magea and finally got rid of Magea. This has given rise to the great festival known as Maghe now which drives out all sorrows from a village. This festival is held in the "sal" grove, which serves the purpose of their temple, because in a "sal" grove the "Deshauli" lives. During this festival, the sal tree is also worshipped, because a convenient hollow in such a tree saved the lives of the "Haram" once. Also, during this festival no one breaks "sal" leaves, because these served as water containers when the "Haram" were nearly dying of thirst. At present the "Haram" are also worshipped on this day because they had received great favours from the gods once. This festival is concluded with worshipping "Deshauli" and imitating the driving out of "Magea" to commemorate the occasion of the life-saving of the great ancestors. Also, during the Maghe festival, earth is worshipped as mother, and before this worship takes place, no one is supposed to plough or dig the earth, because "Nage-era" had mentioned it in her advice to Pilchi and Pilchu.

The ancestors (Pilchi and Pilchu) lived in the tunnel beside the lake happily for a long time and eventually gave birth to twelve children. At first seven boys were born. Each time a boy was born, Pilchi's right breast became filled with milk and she fed her young ones from it. The first boy was named Aham while the second one was called Munu.

Later on, Pilchi gave birth to five girls. At the time of their birth, the milk in Pilchi's right breast stopped, but it flowed from her left breast.

When all the children grew up Aham and Munu decided to live a life of celibacy, and became wise in the ways of life and developed the power of seeing the future. Soon they became the teachers of their brothers. Since Aham taught them the ways of worshipping, all the incantations to this day start with the words, "Aham, we bow



to you on this good day" ("Aham Johar Aham tingdo" ; Aham is synonymous with the word "god"). Also, since all told twelve children were born, they are always together referred to as "gel baria" or ten-two and are mentioned during worships.

The five younger brothers ultimately got married to their sisters and procreated all the Hos.

When Pilchi and Pilchu had lived for a very long time their vision and hearing became impaired and they started feeling constant physical weakness. This was a new thing to them. So they went to "Nage-era" and asked her to explain this phenomena. Then she revealed to them the existence of another powerful god, "Marang Bonga". This Bonga lives in "Torpur" (the other world, while this world is known as "Manchpur"), and when he decides to take away some one from this world, he first warns him by making him sick and weak. She further told them that, now that they have come to know about "Marang Bonga", they should start worshipping him as well. Because not only does this Bonga help a man win war or fight, unless he is properly worshipped, a good place in Torpur cannot be secured. So, the worship of "Marang Bonga" was started from that time.

"Nage-era" also told them what should be done with the corpse when a man's soul ("roa") goes to Torpur. This corpse should be cremated on a pier made from the boughs of a tree that does not have flowers yet bears fruit. Then after cremation, the bones have to be fished out from the ember with leaves which grow in a tree, in which the leaves flutter even in the absence of wind. This has to be done, because so long a man lives, he has to breathe air. But when he dies, the soul lives on though the man does not breathe, i.e., the soul is capable of surviving even in the absence of air. So, during funeral a leaf has to be chosen which flutters (i.e., lives) even when there is no wind. Further, when the corpse is put on the pier (or buried), its head should point towards the side in which no object casts shadow in sunlight. This is the south, and it is direction in which lies the way to "Torpur".

Soon after receiving all these advice, Pilchu breathed his last. Pilchi cried and cried over the dead body for a long time. Then she dried her tears when she remembered that the corpse has to be disposed of in a prescribed way for the welfare of Pilchu's soul. So she sent



out her seven sons to find the tree in which no flowers bloom, yet it bears fruit, and bring its boughs to make the pier. The seven brothers searched high and low and at last came across the "Tiril daru" or the kend tree. This they cut up and brought the wood. Then they went out in search of the tree whose leaves fluttered in the absence of wind. This was an easy job and they soon found the pippal tree ("Hassa daru"). After this the remains of Pilchu was cremated. Pilchi also did not live very long after this, and after her death she was also cremated in the way taught by "Nage-ora".

When the children of the "Haram" had lived for a very long time, their children reached the age of marriage. Then Aham and Munu directed them not to marry each other's own sisters or brothers, but to marry the cousins. But after the passage of many more years, the number of grandchildren and great-grandchildren and even their children swelled so much, that the five heads of the families started having great difficulty in saying which persons belonged to whose family. So they apprehended that some incestuous marriage might take place. To avoid the occurrence of such a thing, they all went to Aham and Munu and requested them to find out a simple way of judging who should marry whom. Aham and Munu considered the problem for sometime, and then directed all the men and women to leave their homes for a day and hold a picnic ("Barabhoji" or "Barabhojni") in the forest and on return, tell Aham and Munu all they had done or seen including omens ("Sakun") during the day.

So, early the next morning all the Hos went out of their settlement and held a great out-door picnic in the forest. On their return, they started describing the day's major events to Aham and Munu. Aham and Munu, in their turn, divided all the Hos into many sections or clans ("Kili") according to the incidents that happened to them. For example, when a couple told Aham and Munu that as they had forgotten to carry with them the large spoon ("Lundi") used for cooking rice, and so had cooked without it, they were given the "Kalundia Kili" (Ka, without; Lundi, cooking spoon). Another couple had put their little baby to sleep on a bed of soft leaves and had climbed up a tree to break dead branches and leaves to light the cooking fire. While they were on the tree, a tiger came and started sniffing the baby. Seeing this, a vulture ("Deogam oa") swooped



down on the tiger and scratched it and bit it and drove it away. So they were given the "Kili" of "Deogam". A third couple had become a little careless while cooking rice, and the gruel had come out bubbling in great force and fallen on the ground. So they were offered the "Purti Kili" ("Patur", gruel). Another couple had out ("Samad") the bones of a hen before cooking it. So they were placed in the "Samad Kili". Another couple had chosen a grassy patch for cooking, and then first cleared some grass and then cleaned the earth with cow-dung paste. So they were given the name "Laguri Kili" (La, clean earth; guri, cow-dung). In this way all the Ho families were given different "Kilis". They said that henceforth, their respective children would belong to those different "Kilis" and no one should marry within the "Kili". In this way, there would never be any trouble in deciding who should marry whom. Aham and Munu also told them that should a man marry within his own "Kili", the husband and wife would have to be punished in the following way:—

They have to be bound and trussed together and then made into a bundle by winding ropes made of straw over them. Then this bundle should be carried to the nearest hill top and burned to cinder and ash.

The "Kili" divisions made by Aham and Munu are still in existence. Following are the most famous "Kilis": Kalundia, Deogam, Purti, Samad, Laguri, Sudi, Digi, Bari, Hembrom, Hansda, Surin Sinku, etc.

Up till now these "Kilis" are found among the Hos and they do not intermarry.

ANADI DASTUR

Munu man do kasbas do kakoe etoekan taikena. Jomalagit sar arsar durus alani ko ara ar sangarkia. Sar arsar reya badabadi hoba oa. Okoe jitikar hoba oa ini re hon misi do ko anandiya. Nen dastur cimin jorong yug taikena. En dipali sar arsar badabadi re cimin cimin larai ko hoba lena. Hor hopon ko kuri hapanum nating ko mapa gopoe kena.

Ente cimita santa raja ar munda raja ar kisan manaki raja ko bicar ked te gonong ko tol keda.



Munu do urri, merom, mindi, kera ge hor koa biti do. Ente naa sante abu hor kodo urri merom ge kuri hap anum natin gonong bu jom tana.

THE STORY OF MARRIAGE

In ancient times, the Hos did not know the various ways of cultivating rice. It takes many skilful operations like selecting good seeds, manuring the land, deeply ploughing, transplanting, etc. to have a good harvest. But in olden days, the Hos did not care about all these very much, because there existed vast stretches of forest all around their homes, and in these forests dwelt many types of birds and beasts, whose meat was delicate in taste and nourishing in quality. So the Hos hunted them with bows and arrows and did not bother much about cultivation. Since hunting was thus the direct source of food supply, every man coveted to have the best hunter as his son-in-law, since only then his daughter would never have to worry about food. So the good hunters were easily able to secure wives. Now, it may happen that a girl is given in marriage to a man because of his prowess with bow and arrow, while another good hunter secretly loved this girl. Then he would come up and say that since he was a no less good hunter, the girl should be given to him. In this way a quarrel would ensue in which the more powerful man would snatch the girl away. This used to happen very often. When Aham and Munu became very old, they started feeling much annoyed at this type of trouble and fights taking place too often. So the big tribal headmen and village headmen one day called all the Hos and told them that henceforth every man shall have to purchase his wife by paying a bride-price ("Gonong") in cattle-heads and goats and sheep. When a girl would grow old enough to marry, all the men who want to take her as the wife would have to bid for her and the one who offered the highest price would be given the woman. From then onwards the regular marriage of the Hos takes place only when a man is able to pay a very high bride-price to the woman's father.

GURRI MARANG

Munu mid duna rea hankuri ci miyad gundi urri Pilaci buri kontha gurr kia. En dipali singbonga gundi doe sarra kia. Gundi urri meta tana :—



Am cikan rea pilaci burim kontha gurr kia ? Sama samare mimin dukum em kia. Ena mente ja jorom jeta jorom am urri hor hopon koa subarem tain te hobaoa.

Nen kaji aiyum kerte gundi urri isu e raa tan te mon dukuhena. Cimin din jom nunha jake bage ledaiye. Ente singbonga gundi urria duku nel kedte e kaji keda. Accha hor subarem tain reyo ama ii jake johar. Gurri sab kedte singbonga johar keda. Ama ii joke johar. Ja jorom jeta joron ama ii cetan re anja doko sebanj ca.

Urri ii gutri re singbonga johar ked nel kii pe hati, sadom, unt ko okomon reko men keda aleya ii reyo singbonga johare ca. Ente ii do kako ol daida Sama gassi olla hena. Gassi sahan kurkur te singbonga hati, sadom, unt koe sarra keda. Ju—Apeho, hor subare taiya kante doyare ko gassi peca. En betare hate—hati, sadom, unt kodobu dub teko tana. Singbonga joke gurri re johor keda.

Gundi urri sarm tan re—mindi, merom, sim, sukuri, isu ko raansa hena. Ena mente en koi e sarra ked koa. Ju gurri cetan mayon hinji peca. Apeho urri loh hor hopan subare tain pe. Ente manan jake guri cetan re neko dobu bonga goe ko tana.

Ena mente naan jake abu hor jati ko porob mutid gurri porob betar maina cathu conda kehate "gurri marang porob" bu manating tana.

THE STORY OF HOW COW-DUNG BECAME SACRED TO THE HOS

During all Ho festivals, cow-dung is treated as a very sacred object, and the place of worship has to be cleaned with it before food can be offered to the "Bongas". During the Maghe Parab actually one day is allotted to the worshipping of cow-dung. And during all festivals, cocks and hens, goats and sheep, and sometimes pigs have to be sacrificed and the animal's blood offered to the "Bongas" on the place cleaned with cow-dung. This custom has come into vogue long after Pilebi Haram and Pilebu Buri, the original ancestors, had ceased to live. But it was already decided by "Sing Bonga" that such a custom would come into existence in course of time while the two ancestors were quite young and had not disobeyed "Sing Bonga" so as to invite his curse and never to see him again.



When "Sing Bonga" completed his creation upon this earth, he selected a good place and required all animals, including Pilchu and Pilchi to sleep there at night together in amity and peace. Every morning "Sing Bonga" used to come to meet Pilchu and Pilchi. At that time all the animals used to go out of the sleeping place and carry on their day's work. Once outside the sleeping place, they could follow their own ways—the tiger could kill the deer or the elephant could charge a bear and so on. But so long they remained within the sleeping place, they had to keep their peace. This place was known as "got" or "jontu koa goto".

Early one morning it so happened that, just before "Sing Bonga" could give them the word to leave the "got" for their day's work, the big-horned cow went and butted Pilchi Buri very hard. The poor girl was thrown down on the ground and lost consciousness. "Sing Bonga" had a great affection for her. So he felt very annoyed at this incident and said to the cow, "O you mean cow, you have dared to disobey me and break the peace of the 'got'. Tell me, what induced you to do this?"

The cow just stood with her head hanging. Her silence enraged "Sing Bonga" all the more and he laid a curse on the cow, saying, "Some day in the future, as a punishment for what you have done today, you shall be domesticated by man, and shall live in his house. Man, your master, would have the right of life and death over you. He may feed you, or he may not do so. He may treat you well, but he may also beat you as much as he likes."

Hearing such an ominous curse, the cow shuddered and started crying and begging "Sing Bonga" to take back his curse. She said over and over again, "O Lord, think what an unfortunate position would be mine in the world, when all the animals would be free to do whatever they like, but I would have to slave under man." She cried so loudly and sobbed so hard that the exertion caused her to urinate and move her bowels. Seeing her plight, "Sing Bonga" felt sorry for her and said, "I am very sorry I have punished you so harshly. But I cannot take back my curse. So, I would include a condition in it which will be in your favour. This excreta which you have just now let out, this cow-dung of yours, shall henceforth be considered



as very sacred—more sacred than even my name—by the mankind in future.”

So saying “Sing Bonga” picked up the cow-dung and saluted (ejake johar) it. Following him, Pilchu Haram also saluted the cow-dung. Then “Sing Bonga” addressed Pilchu and said, “Although the bowels of animals are dirty and bad, the cow-dung shall be considered as good and your descendants shall always worship me after cleaning the place of worship with this sacred cow-dung.”

This somewhat consoled the cow and she stopped crying. Also this incident later on led the Hos to start worshipping cow-dung (Guri-Bonga) during the Maghe Parab.

While “Sing Bonga” was saluting the cow-dung holding it in his hands, all the animals reverentially watched him. But the three large animals, the elephant (“hati”), the camel (“ut”) and the horse (“sadam”) felt that they had been denied a just right. They thought that since they were much bigger animals than the cow, their bowels should be treated with regard instead of cow-dung. But since “Sing Bonga” had already declared cow-dung to be sacred, it is obvious that if great creatures like them could move the bowels now, “Sing Bonga” would, if not place cow-dung below their dung, at least dictate all the other animals to treat their droppings with as much reverence as the cow’s. So they made effort to move their bowels. But since they were neither afraid, nor was it the due time, their bowels did not move; instead they only passed wind. When they had passed wind, the smell disturbed all the animals and “Sing Bonga” very much. He at once divined the cause of the evil smell and becoming angry at the vanity of these three animals, said to them, “So you three animals consider yourself very great, so great that you can pass wind in my presence. As a punishment of that, this Pilchu’s descendants will one day not only make you slaves, but will pass wind sitting on your back.”

Hearing such a punishment dealt out to the three large animals, all the other animals barring Pilchu Haram, started laughing. “Sing Bonga” considered this to be an insult to him. So he cursed all the animals saying that from that time excepting this Pilchu and Pilchi and their children, no other animals on this earth shall have the



power of laughing. That is why up till now only man can laugh when pleased.

Then once again "Sing Bonga" approached the cow, and catching her tail, made Pilchu to hold it fast. Then he first said to the cow, "From today you stay in human hands. He may beat you, feed you, caress you, whichever he feels is right to do."

Then he faced Pilchu and told him, "Pilchu, if you for nothing cause pain or sorrow to the cow, you shall also suffer. If you hurt the cow the rains would come down in so insufficient a quantity that you shall not be able to grow any food, yet grass will keep on growing so that the cow will be able to get her food. So you should be her master, but treat her well."

While he was thus talking to Pilchu, the sheep and the goat, the pig and the hen started jeering at the cow. They said to her, "You have been rightly served, you evil cow. When we go out to find our food, you come along and always hurt us with your horns. You have been adequately punished by 'Sing Bonga' for treating us thus." They said this, and to poke more fun at her, started making sounds denoting their appreciation of "Sing Bonga's" decision. Thus the goat and the sheep said, "Bhes, bhes" (good, good); the pig shouted, "Hnooo" (yes); and the cock, in his enthusiasm, sang out tauntingly, "Horok rim-cho-ng" (I'd also stay amidst men).

At these shouts and jeers "Sing Bonga" thought that while he, who had every reason to be annoyed with the cow because she had been violent within the "got", had shown his mercy to her, what right has these creatures to jeer at her when she had behaved most naturally by butting them outside the "got". In order to show the animals that he does not tolerate such things, "Sing Bonga" said to those four animals, "Since you could not forgive the cow even when I forgive her, it will be your fate in future to be sacrificed by Pilchu's descendants over a place cleaned with the dung of this very animal in whose pain you find your enjoyment and your blood shall then be offered to me and "Deshauli" and "Marang Bonga" and such other "Bongas". So that day the fate of those four animals too was decided by "Sing Bonga."

Note.—The need of a disciplined life may be stressed. Also it should be noted how empty arrogance goes before fall. Jeering at misfortune of others is also to be discouraged.



HO SANTHAL HAPATHING

Munu do kiring era gojeyan re, inian jang bar paba reko topaiye tea dastur taikena. Mid duna miyad kiring era gojeyana. En era a jangtopa, diri or re aiya enga apuci ber ko kako denga kena.

Jang do hathing akan te taikena. Ente kurkur te aiya herel ora haga eman hanar joiyanr ora sen kate jang ko oma ko tanare hanar hoyanr kako tela kena. En betare hate gopotho eperang laraiye hobayana. Cikam mente ci gonoye, til topajang ci diri or re ka denga epemani do kako sukutiya. Har nir koa ko. En taraiye reko bar hathing hena. Laraiye isur din jake tai hena.

En dipali "Santa" nutum isu marang kisan raja taikena. Bar pah ren hor ko solah tagid Damodar gara kuthi ree jahora ked koa.

Ente raja kaji keda :—abu hor jati re era gonong kaji, anandi bapala tanare, gonoe gerang til topajang re, diri or re barabari goponde eparang larai jhagra isu hoban tana.

Ena mente era gonong bu toleda, jangtopa, dir or bu bayeya meta ko tanaiye.

Aiyum ked te hor ko bar hathing hena—isu pura hor kodo Santa raja kaji ko manating hena ar ondo isu pura hor do taleya munua dastur ke bugina ko men keda.

Ente Santa raja ondo e kaji keda :—ju ajan kaji manating tan ko sarjom sakam re ondo anjan kaji ka manating tan ko munuan dastur tain tan kodo ruhung sakam reko jome nuni ca. Mente e sarra ked koa.

En betar ete hor ko tear hathing hena. Santa raja kaji manating ken ko. Opon koci jang Damodar gara re atu eraiye ko. Gonong tol ked ko diri or bage tad ko Santa raja nama dastur re etohen ko "Santbara" ko metad koa.

Okon ko aera dastur leka tainhan ko. Buhung sakam re jom ken nunha ken ko. Era gonga, era kiring re, til topajang re, diri or re barabari goponde eparang ondo taraiye ko lagating ko, disum laraigi reyo tarai hor ko larka ko metad koa.

En canab nen laraiye hor ko Santa raja hor ko kakiri nir ked' koa. Santa tad biti jake bage tad te en hor ko Damodar gara tor parom reko hatu disum kela. Gel bariya hora tel gel bariya gusiya



songe teko nir era hena. En betar Damodar gara reko sapara kena. En betareh te Santar ko Damodar gara re jang doko atu eraya.

En canab ako men keda oh cando bonga ge abu ho gel bariya horare gel bariya gusiya subor gel bariya disum bu nam keda. Ente naan jake Santara kore gel bariya kili mena koa.

Murum thakur, hansda, kisana, hembrom seyan, tudu, raska, baske beyar men leka marang marang kili reko taikente ko disum keda.

Holarka koloh saninga saninga reko tai hen te naan do kajo jagar, acar-bicar, paithi kami men leka ko tanaga tanaga hena.

THE STORY OF HOW A GROUP OF HOS CAME TO BE KNOWN AS SANTALS

In the olden times, it was the custom of the Hos to bury half the cremated bones and ashes of a married woman in her husband's village and carry the rest to her father's village and hand it over to the dead woman's father or brothers. At that time, the Hos lived in the south bank of the great river Damodar.

On one such occasion of carrying ashes to the dead woman's father's village, it so happened that when the husband's party reached the village, a marriage ceremony was about to take place there. Now, if the dead girl's father and brother accepted the ashes for burying them, the whole village would have become polluted and so the marriage ceremony could not be held on that day. The villagers naturally objected to such a course and requested the father not to accept the ashes. He agreed and asked his son-in-law to take the ashes away and come on another day in future. The son-in-law felt very insulted at such a proposal and a quarrel broke out between the two parties. It ended with the son-in-law's dumping the pot containing the ashes in the girl's father's house and leaving the village in a huff. The father and the brothers of the girl, in their annoyance, took the pot and threw it away in the river Damodar. This incident was not finished here. Some persons took the side of the outraged son-in-law, while others supported the dead girl's father and said that he had no right to spoil the fun of all the villagers by accepting the ashes; so he had behaved ideally by not



accepting the ashes. In the end, the quarrel took such a great magnitude that the king (termed "Santa") of the Hos decided to call a meeting of all his subjects and put an end to the quarrel after hearing what they have to say. Accordingly, he directed the "Mankis" (the chiefs of several villages) to spread the news. Each "Manki" informed the "Mundas" (chieftain of a village) of the villages that were under his control and these "Mundas" in their turn notified the "Santa's" command to all the villagers. So, on the appointed day, all the villagers assembled in an open space on the banks of the Damodar river. "Santa" opened the meeting by remarking that the case which had led him to take the step of calling a meeting was not at all a unique one. Such bickerings over the disposal of the ashes of a corpse has been happening for quite sometime. Also, during haggling over the amount of "gonong" frequently violent quarrels have been seen to occur. Thirdly, during the "Jang-topa" ceremonies, when an invited relative fails to turn up, the bereaved family and their friends go and abuse this relative. To put an end to all such bickerings and fighting, "Santa" said that he wished to change the old laws and customs. He wanted his people to accept a new custom in which the amount of "gonong" would be a fixed amount in all cases, the ashes of a dead married woman would be entirely disposed of by her husband's family, and since the mode of disposal would be throwing the ashes into Damodar, there would be no question of the "Jang-topa" ceremony. When "Santa" had said this, while some persons supported him, quite a number of Hos voiced their opposition to changing the old custom. So "Santa" decided to take a vote. By that time it was already well past noon and everyone was feeling hungry. So "Santa" proposed that those who supported him, should eat from a platter made of "sal" leaves ("Sarjom sakam") and the rest should use "rung sakam" as platters. Accordingly, the people divided themselves in two groups and started eating. "Santa" went round the whole assembly and saw that both the groups were practically equally strong. So he could not force everyone to follow him. As a result, a permanent breach occurred among the Hos. Those who followed "Santa" and threw away ("ara") the old customs were known as "Santara"; this word later became "Santal". The others remained as Hos, but they were also called the "Larka" from that time, that is



because, first of all, "Rung" is also known as "Lar", and these Hos had eaten from "Lar-Sakam". Secondly, they had voted to stick to their older tradition of fighting ("Larka", those who fight) over "gonong", distribution of ash and during "Jang-topa". Then again, they were not satisfied with the "Santals" who changed their customs. So they fought with them as well. The fight was so fierce that the Santals had to retreat and cross over to the north bank of Damodar and stay there. Later on, these "Larkas" had fought the "Dikus" too. So the name "Larka" was amply justified.

Now, when the Santals fled after losing the battle with the Hos they became divided into groups. When the retreat came to an end, they met and found that in their run for life, they had automatically been divided into twelve groups. This gave them some food for thought. They considered that when children were born to the original ancestors, the "Haram", they were twelve in number. This was quite accidental—one more or one less child could have been born. Again, when they fled, they again accidentally divided into twelve groups. So these might not be really accidental, but designed by the Supreme Being, "Sing Bonga". So they decided to cancel their older "Kili" affiliations and redivided themselves in twelve clans only according to the twelve groups, and as a result, although the Hos have any number of "Kilis", the Santals to this day have twelve "Kilis" only, among whom the following five are the important ones:—

Murmu, who are "Thakur" or priestly; Hansda, who are "Kisan" or peasants; Hembrom, who are "Seyan" or learned men who have the power of foretelling; Tudu, who are "Raska" or good musicians or dancers; and Baske, who are "Beparo" or good businessmen.

There is a good deal of modern "rationalisation" to explain the difference in custom with the Santals. The traditional tale of origin of Santals has no mention of such an incident. The professions allotted are different among Santals. The social educator may however stress how trifles lead to differences and separation of intimately connected folk.

SIM-BONGA DASTUR

Hor jati kara mage porob ge marang porob tana. Mage porob betar lama-jang adova cauli, ramba, tilaming ondo rassi da ge bongaiye tea dastur taikena. Nean koge ko bonga huju e tan te cimin jorong jug seno hena.



Mid duna an ban kurin tana cin :- Mage porob utanga hatoren diuri nen tama jang adova cauli, rambara, tilaminga ar rassi da punji ked te e bunga sekah tuda. Ente ko rura ura tana. Nen jagar do bir biru disumakan rea bankurin tedo. Ente diuri eman jete hor ko soben rura tanare ko nel kia.

Punjia kan adova cauli rambara, tilaminga ko eman buru simking ud jom caba keda. Mido diuriya juri hor kur kurate miyad. Sotha danda te enka e hurala ked kin a ci sini kin mid danda te goe tabei-yana kin ondo jahera sarjom darure—sim mayom pasir biureyana. Nena era leka hobayana.

Nen era mido okoren marang guru abba ko kuli kia.

Ini kaji kanda :—Oh nen bunga tad tea sim ko jom bithal keda. Ena mente tising ete simkin desauli bunga rebu bunga kin a Oudo katba bakan turubakan tebu jom koa.

Ente naan sante hor jati re sim ko bunga tea ondo jom ko tea dastur hoba hena.

FOWL SACRIFICE OR "SIM-BONGA DASTUR"

In the olden times, Pilchu Haram used to offer only the "Lama Jung" fruit to "Deshauli" during festivals. That was so since "Nage-era" had advised Pilchu to offer such articles to the Bongas as were appreciated as good food by Pilchu, and he knew of no other food at the time.

But after a long time had passed, and Pilchu and Pilchi had died, one day a Ho priest ('Deuri') came across a singular incident. The Hos at that time still used to live in the jungles. Now, this priest we were talking about had finished worshipping "Deshauli" in the "Jahera" and offered rice and "lama-a jung" to her. Then, satisfied that the prayers were over, he left the place to go home. While he was walking away, another Ho, who was standing near "Jahera" called the priest's attention to the fact that a wild cock, a hen and a chicken were eating up the food that had been offered to the deity. Hearing this, the priest picked up a heavy stick and ran back to the "Jahera". There he saw that indeed three fowl were polluting the offered food by eating them. He thought



that "Deshauli" would definitely be angry with him for this sacrilege, and so in his fear and anger, threw the stick at the birds. The stick squarely hit all the three birds. These fell dead on the spot and blood started gushing out of their heads.

The "Deuri" was not satisfied by just killing the birds. He went up to old Aham's house and described the whole incident. Aham, the eldest son of their original ancestor Pilchu, could as is known by all, see into the past, future and the other world. He thought about this incident and told the priest that he had nothing to fear. This incident only showed that "Deshauli" wanted to drink the blood of the cocks and hens. So she had staged this incident to show her desire. Now that the priest had the good sense to come and ask him, that is Aham, "Deshauli" was very pleased with the priest that he knew it was her wish that in future in all festivals she should be offered the blood of hens and cocks.

Thus the curse laid on cocks and hens a long time ago by "Sing Bonga" came into practice on that day.

DIANG BONGA DASTUR

Munu man do jo, bah, mandi ge ko bonga tan taikena. Okona ko jom tana ena geko bongaya.

Hor jati kore munu ete era jagar guruabha ko ar rehed ranu adan bonga sinharaya sinha singraya hor ko tai hujun tan boa. Munu ete ge lai hasu boo hasu rea rehed ranu do ko eto leda.

Mid' dipiliya bankurin ne leka hobalena :—mage porob ulang hatu sai ren soben hor ko loha diuri mage bonga lagid jahera reko jahora hena.

Diuri bonga seka ked gea. Mandi jom dipah ka atkar diuri isu jor tai hasu kia. Mandi do kaiye jom keda. Ente en jake diuri do tai hasu rea reher ranu nam ked te tara e jom keda ar tara ranu do mandi cathu re em ked te e agu leda. Ora reo lai hasu do ka bage kia. Mandi do kaiye e jom renga keda.

Barsing tai hasu tai hena. Barsing betar mida en diuri miyad kumue kumu keda.

Neleka :—hati cetan re desauli bonga dub kate diuri e :



Kajiga tana:—He diuri, ama bonga catu mandire anj muni teya rasi tiyara kana. Tining do ondo ge am ora abung ken te niram doroma te desauli bongam sebai redo ama taiyi hasu bugi hoba oa.

Ondo jorong jake nen rassi neka ge porob ponai re bonga ko me. Karedo duku kom nameyan.

Ente ang hena, ang torsa kumure nel ked lagid bonga cathu re e neb tana. Sari sari tege mandi do rassi hoba jama. Wel ked jake en diuria cai hasu nire yana. Ente kummu ked leka ora abung kente en diuri onde misa en rassi loha adova cauli rembera tilaming koe bonga keda.

En betareha te diang bonga dastur hobayana. En mandi maya re dadul ked teko muna keda. Nogoda ko men keda ondo biho ko bihana.

En betareha to diang bonga etohena ar hor jati ko manan jake naan sante diang nunhan kebate paithi kami ko catao kaju tada.

En rehed raru do bonang jome tagida e agu leda mendo mandi re e en misa ked redo mandi do apeha binare upureyana.

Ding lena mente:—diang nutum hoba hena tai reko ali hena:—ena mente ali, ali te ili ko metada.

En rehed do:—car pathu, marang pith, raru reher ko metao.

En ulang ete diang bonga, diang nunha eto hena.

THE STORY OF RICE-BEER OFFERING OR "DIANG-BONGA DESTUR"

In the olden times "diang" or rice-beer was not offered to the deities at any festival. It was simply because the Hos did not know how to prepare "diang". Actually, they were ignorant about it altogether.

But once "Deshauli" decided to teach them to make "diang" so that she may get it on every festive and religious occasion. This is how she taught the Hos the secret of "diang".

It is the Ho-custom to celebrate the 'Guri-Bonga' during Maghe parab by sacrificing a large number of fowl. In every village all the male-heads of the households take a cock or a hen or even a chicken to the Deuri when he worships "Deshauli" at the "Jaher". The priest sacrifices these fowls, and then all the men of the village bring



uncooked rice from home to an open space in the village, cook the rice and the sacrificed bird and enjoy a sort of outdoor meal.

Once, long time back, it happened in a particular village that a priest, after he had sacrificed all the fowls brought for the purpose and cooked their heads and offered them together with the rice he had brought for offering to "Deshauli", he settled down under a tree to eat the meat and rice. As he finished eating the meat and started eating rice, he felt a great pain in his stomach. So he ran into the nearby jungle and brought some herbal medicine. He ate half the medicine, and the rest of it he wound in a leaf and dropped it in the rice pot. He thought that half the medicine would shortly cure him, and then he would eat the rice. Meanwhile, he thought, he would go home and lie down. So he carried the rice-pot home, pushed it under his cot "parkom" and lay down. But his pain continued throughout the night and the next day. As the food offered to a deity cannot be touched by women, his wife left the pot of rice under the cot as it was. On the second night the pain abated a little and the Deuri fell asleep. Towards dawn he dreamt that "Deshauli" had come to him riding on an elephant. She addressed him and said, "Look into the rice-pot. A kind of juice has formed there. Offer that juice to me tomorrow and in future offer such juice to me at every festival. Otherwise you would be afflicted by belly-ache again. I would make all men suffer in a similar way." Saying this, "Deshauli" vanished with her elephant.

Soon after seeing this dream the Deuri woke up. The dark night was then becoming slightly lighter and he could see a faint redness lining the horizon in the East, and knew that dawn was fast approaching. So he left his bed, and remembering the dream, looked into the rice-pot. Truly, the rice, he found, had fermented and a juice had filled the pot. Without waiting to inform any one about this miracle he ran to the "Jaher" and offered most of it to the deity. Only then his stomach pain did totally subside.

As he turned to go back home, he saw seven Deuris of the neighbouring villages running towards him in a trance ("rum" or "jupa"). They surrounded him and said that they all had dreams in which "Deshauli" had instructed them to go to him immediately to learn something new from him.



So the host Deuri took them to his place and there they first diluted and tasted the drugs that still remained in the rice-pot. The diluted juice tasted sweet and they found it invigorating. After that they all learnt from this Deuri what herbs he had used for making his medicine. Then they all went back to their respective villages, fermented rice and first offered it to "Desbauli" and then taught the people how to make it. From that time the Hos offer "diang" or "rosi" or "illi" (rice-beer) to their deities and they also take it, since it is sweet in taste and also invigorates a man.



THE SORAS

The Soras are another member of the Austric speaking tribal folk of India. According to the Census of 1941 there were at that time nearly four lakh Soras, in Orissa and its states, in Central Provinces and Berar (now partly in Bombay, and partly Madhya Pradesh), in Madras and in Bihar. More than three-fourths of Soras however live in the present State of Orissa. The brief note on Soras recorded here refers to that section of this tribe which lives in the hills of Koraput district and has retained more of their earlier customs than the rest.

The Hill Soras live in small villages, of a few families. The huts are arranged in a row, with little or no space between them. Where the village is situated on sloping land the huts may be located at different levels. According to Miss Munro, the huts of Sora families who supply the village officials are a little apart from those of "Porojas", i.e., persons who have settled later. The officials come from the original settlers. Sora huts are rectangular in ground plan, with walls of stone and mud. The plinths are raised a little from the ground level. The roof is two-sloped, and made of thatching grass laid on supports. Inside such a gabled hut, there is a platform about four feet high on one side and there is a hearth under it. Ordinarily grain bins are kept on the platform; but in cold weather, the members of the family sleep on it deriving warmth from the fire and embers in the hearth below. The hut, as usual in tribal areas, has no window, but a single door and sometimes two doors, one on each side of the hut. A mortar is sunk in the floor in the middle of the hut, while on the wall opposite to the platform, pictures are painted. Over these pictures are hung pots where spirits are believed to come on occasions. A combined cattleshed, pig sty and fowl house is built outside the hut. It has poles planted side by side to enclose it and a thatch to cover it. Cattle is however possessed by only a few Soras who are better off. The dog, the pig, and fowl are the usual domestic animals.

A little away from the village dwellings there is the shed for ancestors; four poles of wood support a thatched roof surmounted by a carved wooden peacock. A little further away from the village is the cremation ground, while close to this funeral place is the site where the menhirs are erected at Guar.



The Soras live by agriculture, supplemented by collection of food. Wild vegetables and edible fruits, roots and tubers are collected, as also some kinds of insects and grubs, mostly by women. The gathering reaches its peak during summer months and helps them to economise on consumption of grain. Some Soras also proceed to Assam to work as labourers in tea gardens. Recently with the introduction of Community Development work in the area, both Sora men and women do a little work as wage labourers during two months after harvest when they have not got to work in their fields. In a few villages in the neighbourhood of Gumma and Baijhal, the Soras prepare wood charcoal and sell it.

Agriculture is mainly of two types ; one is like the Jhum of Assam and the Podu of Orissa. The Soras call it Banu. It is now practised on hill sides. The selected piece of land is cleared of trees by felling them during the cold weather or early in spring. The more substantial logs are removed while the smaller branches and leaves are dried and burnt. The burning is done in summer. The ashes are spread out and, hoeing the land a little, seeds of a number of crops mainly millets and pulses are broadcast. When with the coming of rains, the seeds sprout, weeding is done. When the seedlings have grown during monsoon, a small watch hut is set up in the field, on poles, to protect the crop from wild animals. As the different crops ripen at different periods, harvesting goes on from November to January. In the gently rolling upland areas, terracing is done and either the hoe, or with larger plots, the plough is used. Millets are grown also on such land. In the bigger lowland terraced fields, paddy is cultivated. In many of the areas in Koraput, the lowland rice fields are gradually passing into the hand of other communities owing to the absence of adequate credit facilities in a lean year. The land is mortgaged and finally sold to meet such debts. In Gumma, all such land has passed to Doms and others.

The Sora families, who are the original settlers in a village consider themselves to be related and do not intermarry. In consequence, marriage is exogamous with regard to the village, except when there are newcomers there, not the older settled folk. There are no totemic groups, nor sibs as apart from the village group. Each village has a Buya who is the sacred headman or priest and a Gumang who



is the secular head of the village. The posts of Gumang and Buya are hereditary now but no political authority is wielded by either of them. Formerly the Gumang used to collect the taxes of his village. This is done no longer by him. The Gumangs of neighbouring villages meet and discuss questions involving several villages and also general questions affecting them such as inheritance or partition of property in special circumstances. Members of Buya and Gumang families intermarry ; but they do not give daughters in marriage to a group of somewhat lower status termed Porojas (sanskrit—"Praja"—subject). Daughters are however accepted from the Porojas in marriage by the other two groups of families. There is also another class of persons, the Bayjus who may be termed Shamans. Men as well as women may thus act as intermediaries to spirits through possession by spirits.

The Soras have several forms of marriage extant among them and observed in the Koraput hills in the Gumma area : (a) First comes the "Sidrung boi" which is negotiated marriage. The first talk of marriage comes always from the boy's family. They approach the girl's parents. In addition there are (b) "Ding ding boi" which is marriage by capture of the girl, (c) "Gangdamma boi" or marriage by intrusion in which a girl forces herself on a man as his wife and (d) "Er er boi" or "Sororate". In all these forms the usual bride-price has to be paid by the boy's family. Residence in marriage is with the husband's father's family and later, with the husband who owns the dwelling hut. If however a man has no sons, and only a daughter or daughters, he may persuade the son-in-law to settle in the girl's village.

The Soras cremate their dead, except those dying from small-pox. No coffin is used to carry the dead body. Munro and Sitapati note that the "orthodox method of carrying the body is for a man (set apart in each village for this work) to carry it..on his shoulder." This is mentioned also by Elwin. But in other areas the rule seems to be for women to carry the body on a string cot to the cremation ground of the village. Even in such case, however, the head of the family, set apart for conducting cremations, make the funeral pyre ready. He also performs certain rituals during cremation. Next day the ashes and a few pieces of the calcined bone are buried in the ground close by. If a Sora dies away from his village and is cremated



elsewhere, the bones must be brought back within a year to his own village. An elaborate post-funeral ceremony known as Guar is performed at intervals of several years for all who have died in the meantime. Buffalos are sacrificed, and a menhir is erected. The soul of the dead person is now believed to go to the land of the ancestors.

Among Soras descent is patrilineal, the affiliation being to the geographical local unit of the village; as noted earlier, it persists even after death. Inheritance is limited to sons in the matter of land. No real property can pass from a man to his daughter. Succession to office is also patrilineal.

The Soras are a hard-working folk and like to amuse themselves with song and dance when work is over. Songs are sung while at work. Tales are also told to regale and also to pass time when watching over crops.

Sora Songs :—

A lullaby :—

Sora—

Jāpta dung, japta dung
Adong adong on
Kundi dong kundi dong
Kulo jong yeng num
Ye mai, ye mai kurpālan da-hin
Kurpālan nā men ye mai
Lumptay lumptay āradi lurumān
Tung tung ai, tung tung ai
Agarang arangda kereta arangda
Tung tung ai, tung tung ai.

English version (Free):

Tears are rolling down, rolling down (your cheek)
Cry not my child, do not cry
Do not fret, do not fret
A lovely thing, mother mine
Hold my breast like pumpkin shaped
My pumpkin shaped breast you hold.
I shall move about doing work (of household)
I shall cook, I, shall cook
Ask not for sour water; to make it
I have to cook kereta herb in water.



A song of hoeing :—

Sora— Asangin illay nai taw nan
 Asangin illay bom nai roi, taw nan
 Asangin, asangin, jamulān pasir rub bay
 Simari gānurun ah ir'rai
 Simari ir rub dan ah ir rai
 Aytin, aytin kund ringan tā dā run
 Guai tin ai tin kund ringan jai pungan
 Angantin anglee dum law tai nai
 Angantin kheb de dum law tay nai.

English version (Free) :

In vain I went oh sister
 In vain, to fit the (handle) stick
 In vain were seeds broadcast
 The rains have not yet come
 Oh let the rains come soon.
 I shall not in the forest offer.
 Who calls me, who calls as I to forest went ?
 Who calls, it is time to hoe
 When will you turn up the field?

Note.—There is apprehension expressed that rains may not come in time.

Song sung at weeding of bara fields :—

Sora— Asu sunai, asu sunai tawnan
 Abum bum nai, tawnan
 Tutum bā ib'erren jalab 'bo ib'er ray
 Ah pangey ah pangey.
 Janundar kurulen ah tinch
 Āpāngey āpāngey on drangjiekaran
 Āpāngey āpāngey gunturji eklan
 Engard parjālen ārujum nai roi
 Tibi ol parjālen a rujum rai roi
 Roobing lay roobing lay kāndreng dāl
 Oneh O yungang
 Tābing lay, tābing lay sangoh dāl
 Oneh yungang.

*English version (Free) :*

Let us start work, let us, sister
 Here shall we begin,
 The leaves and thorns to collect
 And take them, take away.
 Food package, rice gruel here
 Food package, rice gruel bring.
 Now take up the sickles and depart,
 With the field rats caught, with us.
 Like leaves of amla, so many are we.
 Feed them all, we shall
 Like leaves of tamarind so many are we
 Feed them all, we shall.
 The sun has gone down
 Beyond the hill over there
 He has gone down, down,
 The bright big sun.

Note.—The song describes the start of work, the progress, the break to take food and the departure before sunset.

Another song of weeding :—

Sora— Yer rai bayla tawnān
 In lai bayla tawnān
 Tu tum bā barlingan jalab' bā
 Bāra lingān asuāh kārātē
 Yem lay yerrai bay ah ing
 Kānā jingan puiben ah sun
 Gub' bay ah sun tawnan
 Bin daw rubte gub' bay
 Mā ing rubte pui bay mai, tawnān
 Tena yem du lai jān day tai
 Tena yem argulan day tai
 Ah ing ūnte nāsun onseng puilay
 Omeng tal lay alṭumay ah yē
 Saw renglay binday sungan
 Yeraṇ yerray dīng dīng len
 Gagalen dimba un ah dāku naitay

English version (Free) :

Come together sister, together
 I have come sister, and
 Like lizards chattered.
 For the baru fields the choppers let us take,
 And with them in hand come
 To pluck the weeds and cut the grass
 Truly to cut the grass.
 The grass with force I have to pull
 Give me (the weeding tool) sister
 When I finish, I shall return it
 I shall be here till sundown,
 So let me have it, sister
 The weeds to uproot so quick
 That the work soon may end.
 And then to home, and there
 The food to cook and to eat,
 And after that to sleep and rest.

Song about work in field to transplant seedlings (for wet cultivation) :—

Sora—

Ja bun u day, biri . . . yāng
 Ji bara ban, soro a go nai ba
 Jā bā sāloji sārān . . .
 Umeng gū ba tām bā lai
 Umeng awe raw mand rāng ji
 Kuru umeng pang ai . . . ba awē
 Raw merang ji awe lā pung te . . .
 Bā mā bā umeng āh gā bā
 Gang ga lay awe ki ki awe raw, ti bā.

English version (Free) :

Oh brothers come, with seedlings to work and plant
 Oh sisters to plant seedlings quickly come
 It is noon, the food fetch quick
 And give on leaf soon to folk
 To eat it quickly, and then
 Again to work in the field.

Song about work for food (of day labourers) :—



Sora—

Yer rai tawnan āh yē
 Kānāl kāl gay
 Ganay gay gay
 Rubte yang bay janum jum
 Rubte yangbay gānā gā tawnan
 Bul mai omeng dāgay yerrai tawnan
 Rāttāl lay anap'sui bayruñ
 Rāttāl lay joah bay run ah ye tawnan.

English version (Free) :

Come sister come, here to work.
 Plenty to eat, to eat will you get ;
 You will get food enough to eat ;
 Sister, so quickly come.
 The work having finished,
 To its end having come
 Our task will be over.

Song sung at work together :—

Sora—

Ah de de tāi
 Bār lai kā tāi
 Ah lungan juilen
 Ānā tan je len
 An gande tai roi
 Ah pulpul tai roi
 Ah lungta nārālen
 Ah lung ge lan.

English version (Free) :

We shall wait (when work is over)
 Together, then shall we eat
 Inside our hut together.
 Our clothes put on (and sit)
 And talk and see to things
 Together in our hut shall we live.

A song about harvesting :—

Sora—

Ah sangen lemtai ah ye
 Ar ah de lum bārā
 Gunda lum bārā
 Lemtaijah jarangah yangai



Rubte hum ta yen day
 Sānārji bā longen ah yangai
 Kinturging rubte ah yangai.

English version (Free) :

In vain I salute (the gods)
 The work has to be done
 The hard work
 I worship, but little do I get.
 If I do this work then only I get
 I cannot have oranges on my land
 You cannot have bats as you wish.

Note.—The harvesting is presumably in another's field for which the worker gets little. The reference to oranges and bats is wishing for things impossible for attainment.

A song of threshing :—

Sora— Jā bā awe rup tai u ung
 Umeng kāmbru gadun gadlay
 Garjun pang ai bā
 Jā bā umeng kāmbur jerān jerlāy
 Ah tid bā ti dāntid layah eb' bā
 Eb' bā ib lay kāmbur tara dentārā
 Lay thrutd lengan arḍad k'u bā kantir
 Lay kuṛu āli āh gābā

English version (Free) :

Come hither it is getting dark
 Cut the grain, dry it and bring it here.
 Quickly thresh, oh come quickly.
 When threshing is done, home shall I go
 So quick, be done with it, home to go
 After the grain is gathered, and measuring done,
 Store it, store it in baskets shall we.
 The task is over ; now let us drink and eat.

A song about going to the weekly market :—

Sora— Gu gu lai nā gā nai
 Tum ding gāl selen
 Bār sub sub lay gānai
 Awe ding gāl se len



Bar da relen āhganāi
 Saro oh lā dā relengen rai
 Bār kumbalen ge nai
 Kui tay awla pāgān
 Ah e oh mā tonka panglailen
 Ah puri sātā
 Ah puri len bājārā
 Yen el lāi
 Ee godān sangē
 Rutu den sange dong nom.

English version (Free) :

I hailed you, to go, holding hands
 But you left unheeding.
 You told a lie and went again,
 Now shall we go, one in front,
 The other following, like Saro plant
 (In the field) in a line.
 The earthen pots we shall carry,
 And banana leaves we shall take,
 And money with us take.
 It is a good fair, a good bazaar.
 Here are garments, the upper cloth to wear.

A song of marriage by capture :—

Sora—

Adong adong tawnān
 Adojingan ada tay tawnan
 Tittar sandi gin dandā
 Kuri gin dandā
 Tit taitin ai oh ma tānkā
 Batung dongam tawnan
 Yenja yenja daku
 Arungān dāngra
 Yerja yenja andi'
 dangra daku
 Pangai tay Pangai tay
 titiolan parjā
 Pangai tay pangaitay
 engar olan parja



Elerja Elenja daku
titi olan parja
Elenja elenja engar
olan pārja

English version (Free) :

Do not cry, do not cry, Oh girl !
How much are you crying lass !
I shall pay a large price for you
I shall pay for taking you
I shall give you much, as much you want,
Fear not lassie, you have me here,
A young man am I, with you here.
I am young and we shall marry ;
Many people shall I fetch, so many
Like tamarind leaves so many
Many people shall I fetch, so many,
Like āmlā leaves, so many,
We are of number great like tamarind leaves
We are of number great like āmlā leaves.

A modern song about a motor car :—

Sora— Ah puing gāre yeraitay
Ah puing endray gāre
Pan non day gāre
Panai your gāre yeraitay
Angeren lingan day sālen yeraitay
Tābāren lingan day sālen yeraitay
Bār mal mel layet tai
nā gigjajypuing gāre

English version (Free) :

A blue car has come, a car we to take,
The car has a flute, the car we to take ;
Men have come to our village, Lingga,
A flower of beauty has come to Lingga
The flower of car like wind will go.

THE FABLE OF THE HARE

A hare passed stools in the stream. The current carried it away. "Why are you taking my dung, what will you give me?" he



asked the stream. "I shall give you fish," the water replied and gave fish. The hare tied it in a bundle and took it. He went to a village and arrived there. It was evening, so he would sleep. "Have some gruel. There is not any stew but drink some gruel," the villagers said. "I have fish ; roast it, make curry," said the hare. So they roasted it and all of them ate and drank and slept. Morning dawned. "Why did you make curry with my fish? Give me a fowl and I will go," said the hare. They gave a fowl, and the hare tied it over his shoulder and took it away.

He went to another village. It was evening. "I shall sleep here," said the hare. "Have some gruel. We have not any curry," the men said. Then the hare replied, "Never mind, I have a hen ; roast it. Let us have gruel and curry." As he said, so they roasted ; all of them ate and went to sleep. Again morning dawned.

When he got up in the morning the hare said, "You ate my hen, so, give me a pig." Verily, they gave. He shouldered it and went away and reached another village by evening. "Let us sleep," they said. "Have gruel. There is no stew," said they. "Here is my pig, kill it," he said. So they killed it, cut it up and cooked a tasty stew, ate and drank and went to sleep.

In the morning, "Now you have eaten my pig, give me a goat", said the hare. They gave it. He roped it and took it and by evening reached another village. "Let us sleep," they said. When they had said, "We have no curry, but drink some gruel," the hare replied, "Have my goat, kill it." They killed the goat, made a curry for all of them and their families and ate and went to sleep. In the morning, "You ate my goat, give me a cow," said the hare. When they gave a cow he tied a rope and took it along.

By evening they reached another village. People appeared in the road. "Where did you go?" they enquired. "For a cow," he replied and took it along the road and reached a village. "I will sleep here with my cow," said the hare, "Well, have some gruel, we are out of stew," they said. "Here is my cow ; kill it and cook stew," replied the hare. They butchered the cow and having done so, removed the skin. Then they cut up the cow meat and cooked it, boiling it. Then they removed the pot from the fire, spread leaf and drained it. Then dividing the meat the family (all of them) ate the meat and drank and went to sleep.



Day dawned. "You killed my cow and you ate it up. Give me a buffalo," demanded the hare. They gave the buffalo; he tied it and took it far away reaching another village by evening. "Now it is evening. I shall sleep in this village," he said. So he went to sleep. They said to the hare as it rested, "Gruel is cooked, come and have some, but we have no curry." "Have my buffalo, kill it, split it with an axe," said the hare. So they brought an axe, split the buffalo's head open, skinned it and cut up the meat, boiled it, took it off, drained it and divided it. Everybody ate. A little meat was left over. "I shall take the liver," said the hare. Having slept till midnight, he got up, took the buffalo liver and smeared the blood over a girl's face (mouth), then threw that liver into the thicket and went to sleep again.

When it dawned "Give me my buffalo liver," the hare said. They searched for it but it was gone. "Who ate it?" he questioned. "People of house, every person, come out on the veranda," he commanded. Every person's face was examined: blood was seen on the girl's mouth. "She ate my buffalo liver; so I will take her to my house. This girl ate it up. Give me the girl herself," said the hare (i.e., hare planned in this way to get a wife).

"All right, all right, cook gruel, cook pappun. Eat plenty and follow the hare," said her people. Having drunk the gruel the girl followed. They went a long way. The girl cried. Her tears fell like rain from her two eyes, like a cracked pot that leaks. "I will not have it (her)," so saying, he returned her to her parents. "Give me a good plate. This is a cracked pot," said the hare. They gave the hare a new plate; he took it and went, climbed a hill, stood on a broad rock and beat the plate with dry sticks. Dancing and singing he drummed.

I gave my dung, got a fish, dingung' dingung' dingung'
I gave my fish, got a fowl, dingung' dingung' dingung'
I gave my fowl, got a pig, dingung' dingung' dingung'
I gave my pig, got a goat, dingung' dingung' dingung'
I gave my goat, got a cow, dingung' dingung' dingung'
I gave my cow, got a buffalo, dingung' dingung' dingung'
I gave my buffalo, got a girl, dingung' dingung' dingung'
I gave my girl, got a plate, dingung' dingung' dingung'.



Hearing the noise, a hawk came, saying, "Do not catch me." The hare fled. But just as it was entering the forest the hawk swooped, the hare died, and the plate broke.

(The style of telling has been kept in the translation.)

Moral.—Too much cunning does not pay.

THE BOY AND THE CATTLE

Once upon a time long long ago there lived a little boy and his mother. One day the mother made cakes (pitha). The little boy seeing his mother making cakes said, "Mother ! cakes". On hearing this the mother said, "Go, run away" and threw a cake at the boy. The cake went flying through the air and the boy ran after it. The cake landed in a region where wild cattle lived and the boy followed it. The boy on finding the cake ate it and climbed a tree.

By this time the wild cattle came and on seeing the excreta of the boy began to wonder who was living on the tree and decided to wait. These wild cattle kept a watch under the tree. This watch was kept in turns (by rotation). Among these wild cattle there was a buffalo which was blind in one eye. This one-eyed buffalo said, "I shall keep watch" and did so accordingly. Although blind in one eye this buffalo was able to locate the boy who was perched upon the tree and noticed that the surroundings (environment) had been cleared of cattle dung. The one-eyed buffalo then said to itself, "Oh this boy has cleaned our excreta."

At this time the rest of the cattle came and enquired of the one-eyed buffalo as to who had cleaned and cleared their excreta. The one-eyed buffalo replied, "If I tell you who has done it you will kill him." On hearing this from the one-eyed buffalo the rest of the cattle said, "Why do you hide this person from us, tell us, let us know." The one-eyed buffalo being questioned from all, by so many cattle, all asking the same question at the same time replied, "It is that human child upon that tree." On hearing this the cattle gave the human child some dry rice and a flute instead of killing him. The cattle gave the child rice to eat and the flute to be played when the child felt hungry. On bearing the child's flute the cattle would bring to the boy food.



All these happenings were being watched by Kettangboi or Mahaproboi (a female deity) who sent crows with cakes to the little boy with instructions to give the cakes to the little boy and bring back the flute which the boy had. The crows arrived with the cakes and told the boy what Mahaproboi had instructed. On hearing what the crows had to say the little boy replied, "I do not need cakes. I have rice". Having heard the boy's reply the crows threw the cakes on the boy and flew with his flute to Mahaproboi.

Mahaproboi made the boy a king who became the master of all the cattle.

Moral.—Good done to others is rewarded.

THE BOY AND THE CATTLE

(Sora)

Aya jele jenang ko sanna onger si do e yangen da bulenji. Ko dinna e yangon pupun sabjale. Pasijan gameten, "E yang pupun". Yangen kan berna amdayale "Ma yira" gamle pasijan amang pupun. Pupun emangban engle pasijan e namben dur durre yiru. Dante kendreng jonumtaranji dakulenji telten pupun gallole. Tenne pasijan pupun nidable jumke enab leng daile. Jonumtaranji pasijan esongen gijata gijata gamleji "Boten enet lengan dakuten elen? Turturee e gittai" Jenmtaranji e padule turturre gillej i. E boi mi mad kadule e sayelan gameben "Nen turturre gittai". Kin mi mad sayelan pasijan a dong rapti gyeten. Sayelen gamdamneten "Kan puger si e song len madir ammele". Ant ennag beggarda sayelenji iyan ille oaleji, bohen e songlen madir ammele"? Mi mad sayelen gameten boten lumeten nen gablam labenden amben anin e do oy jadithengamle kabyelte. Beggarda sayelenji gamleji i amen iten asan doylan kan e mandra ab so sotolen? Mi mad kadu sayelen gameten, anin i boi mandra bonru eneb lengsn. Pasyen i doong asar ruyen do bo tirido peden aninji tilleji. Iten asan gamlenden pasijan dolai dalen ennang rrudan pedan pedlenden, sayelanji jenumjum pang tillaiji. Kan Kudub kitung bajan gijeten Antennang kakanje kao kaa gamle saddaleji kitungboi pasijan e do ang e boi pupun e ti i ben appayeten bar e padole unte e tiridoi pedan e pangben. Kakanji



pasijan emangba yan ille apeng ligi ong ger si jalayete "Eija sanai sai yen ted may nen asar ruysu daku". Kanate amdangsu amdangle kakanji pupun omdale sedlen do, tiridoi pedon pakuble kitungboi manba senleji. Kitung boi unl e ongger si e doang Raja godan ameate lo ordar desan e kuddub jenumlaranji do say elenji e nang neng mar amneten

THE CLEVER GOAT

Once upon a time long long ago a certain Raja got married, saying, "I shall marry, I shall marry." This Raja brought a goat and a brinjal. The brinjal told the goat, "Your flesh and my flesh will be mixed and cooked." On hearing this the goat was frightened and fled to the jungle. In the jungle the goat wandered and roamed till it came upon a tiger's den and entered it.

After some time the tiger of this den returned to its home (den) from his usual wandering in the jungle and saw his den was occupied. The tiger asked, "Who are you to enter my den?" The goat replied, "With one horn I kill mankind ; with the other I destroy forests and mountains." On hearing this the tiger left in a great fright wondering who this mighty creature was. On the way the tiger met a jackal. The jackal asked the tiger why the latter was running away. The tiger related to the jackal what had happened. The jackal then said, "Come with me and together we will find out what has happened." Then the two, the tiger and the jackal, tied themselves together and went to the tiger's den to find out what had occupied the tiger's den. On reaching the tiger's den the jackal asked who had occupied the tiger's den. The goat replied from within, "With one horn I kill mankind ; with the other I destroy forests and mountains." On hearing this the tiger again got frightened and fled with great leaps dragging the little jackal who was tied to him.

Having thus travelled for some distance the tiger asked the jackal, "Friend why do you sleep at this critical time? Let us escape from here." The jackal did not reply (being in pain) but only showed his teeth and made the tiger angry, who once again fled with great leaps dragging the little jackal behind him. The little jackal had a very bad time being pricked by thorns and dashed against stones still showing his teeth. The jackal had died.

Note.—There was great laughter when this story was being told. Everybody seemed to enjoy themselves when it was said the jackal showed its teeth.

Moral.—A person of little powers should not seek to advise a powerful one when the latter is afraid.

THE CLEVER GOAT

(Sora)

Ayanti de bo Raja sidrunge. Anin e boi kimmed do andarajan kele. Andarajen kimmedan e dong gameten "Jelu nam jelu nam mailen, rajan maile dingte". Anadanggatan amdantan kimmedan tulaban yirre selle do lungar kid lengsn geneten. Kinan garodled e tiki anin e lungar leng kimmedan ijaiten gije. Kinan bohen aman lungar nen e ganben. Kimmeden gameten "Bo dereng nen batte Kuddub mandranji kabyedtai uki beggada dereng batte kuddub kandrengen do barunje ab sedtai". Kan amdangsn umdangle kinan ma yirre selle. Tengor rengsn kinan bo buran rabangle. Buran, kinan e doong Ennele oan yerre sette? Gamle ooleten". Kinan kimmedon e bernam buran e doong gabla meten. Buran jalageten "Sten asan yirre sette? Mang riem iyai". Ennele amidayle buran do kinan argal damlen lungankid leng ganleji. Buran oaleten "Boten henne geneten"? Lungaran saring kimmedan "Janengeten ko dereng nen kuddub mandranji e dong kalyedtai do leggar dan deren botten hulabanji do barunji nen absedtai". Kinan uki botongle karrang arjangle yirre selle. Sanna kinsan jaitan er janglen ennang buran aile iten asan gamle kinan, boi boi batongle. Buran kanyidle. Kinan gameten buran e dong "E gadi iten asan benantong ennang aman dimmadten Tenne saring enlen ardurne". Buran sasajilen satta. Kinan ennego e gellen asan bar oki batongle. Kinan buran e diardu e kandungban dingle ma karran arjangle selle. Buran e dong boi boi kal kal dele, aten asan gamlende ebbanji do areng enji anin e doong gatareten.

THE STORY OF KITTUNG

Once upon a time in most ancient past (Purban) a brother entered a gourd. At this time there was nothing but water. The brother could not get a wife and the sister could not get a husband. The two,



brother and sister, were in the gourd. The water which covered the world began to dry. The brother and sister came out of the gourd looked round and saw there was no grass, no stones and every thing was smooth. They, the brother and sister, said "What should be made first". They decided that grass should be made first and then the rat (Guntur). The rat made the fields (low lands) and the Bam (the shifting hill-side fields). The brother and sister then created the cattle, the birds and all animals. The brother and sister then created the sun as it was dark and the fire to cook food and was followed by the creation of man. The newly created man was told by the brother and sister to go and create all other Jati of mankind. It was thus the first man who created all other "Jati" of mankind.

The brother who was Kittung asked the low caste man, "Where were you born from, the elbow or the knees?" (Here the research worker was told that a person born from the elbow is one whose elbow is the first part of his body to appear at birth. Thus a normal birth is regarded by the Soras as a "birth from head"). There was no reply. So the sister "gave birth" to a human being that came out of her chest and she died. The new born man said, "Oh! my mother is dead, shall we burn (cremate) her—no". The new born man healed the wound in his mother's chest and she was all right and became alive again. The new born man could not be found.

The mother searched for her new born son who had brought her back to life but could not find him. She asked a wasp to find where her son was. The wasp searched everywhere and returned to the mother informing her that he was unable to find her son. The mother then asked a porcupine to look for her son. The porcupine said "How much will you give me to search for your son". At this Kittung said "I shall give you all things that grow on the hills and in the jungle, but first bring the boy". The porcupine returned after his long search and informed Kittungboi that her son was with KANNISUMAN (a deity). The mother then went to Kannisuman and said "give me back my son". Kannisuman said "I have nurse! your child because you were dead; what will you give me to return your child". Kittungboi said "Whatever I give you, you will eat it immediately so I shall have sacrifices offered to you in future; you may come in any form of god you wish to take shape of".



Kannisuman agreed to this offer of Kittungboi and returned her son to her. It is for this reason that we still perform sacrifices to fulfil the promise made by Kittungboi.

Moral.—A good deed brings adequate return.

STORY OF CULTIVATION AND TRADE

In the beginning Kittung kept gold, tobacco, chillie, and salt all arranged in a line in the presence of Rama and Bhima. Bhima was the elder brother and Rama was the younger brother. Kittung (a deity) asked the two brothers to pick any one of the four things that he had placed before them. Bhima picked up tobacco while Rama picked up gold. The sons of the Bhima are we Soras while the sons of the gold seeker are the Oriyas.

Kittung now sent both Bhima and Rama to cultivate a hill each. Rama started cultivating from the top of the hill and came to the bottom. Bhima on his hill started cultivation from below and worked upwards. All this was being watched by Kittung who called the two brothers and said "The one who has worked from bottom upward will be a (farmer) cultivator and the one who has worked from top to the bottom will be a trader".

Bhima asked Kittung why should his brother Rama live by trading and he by cultivation. Kittung replied, "As you have worked from bottom upwards you have acquired the art and skill of cultivation and will have good yields, but Rama has cultivated from top to bottom, his seedlings are spoilt and rolling stones are ruining his cultivation".

Thus you see we the children of Bhima are cultivators being so from ancient times and having received our seeds from Kittung himself.

THE LUCK GODDESS AND BEGGAR CHILD

In days of yore a poor man took a pot of liquor to a girl and they got married. They were very poor and went out begging each day. In time they had a child, a girl. One day the parents had gone out to beg and the little girl was playing before the hut, when the Goddess of Luck came as a girl and said "let us play". After a while the Luck Goddess said "I feel hungry; give me a little food". The human child said "why are you asking me? I have no gruel in house,



no food ; so why ask? My father and mother are out begging. If they get one measure of broken rice, they will boil it with water and we shall take it. If the village folk give nothing, we fast. What gruel or rice can I give you"? Luck Goddess said, "Look into your rice pot ; there is rice. You are deceiving me". The human child said "But there is nothing ; if there were why should I also stay hungry". But Luck Goddess insisted "You have rice, you have curry. So quickly fetch these". The human child went inside, thinking "How can there be gruel even? That woman is shaming me, asking for food and saying it is there". But on lifting up the cover of the pot, she saw it was full of food, and taking it served to the Luck Goddess. The latter said "Behold, here is food and you said there is none. You lied to me ; why did you hide the food?" The human child could not speak and hung her head in shame. She had served the food on a leaf ; now the Luck Goddess said "Why do you serve food on a leaf"? The child said "We have no plate". The Luck Goddess said "Go inside and look"; you are lying". The child went inside and beheld there was a brightly polished clean brass cup and bellmetal plate. The child brought these out and served food in them. The Goddess said "Ha ! you have a plate and cup ; but you said no, just to avoid letting me use them. How is that"? The Goddess again said "Why do you not serve curry? Shall I eat the rice dry". "But we have no curry" said the child. "Go and look into the curry pot" said the Goddess. The child went in and found the curry pot full of warm cooked pulse. So she gave it to the Luck Goddess, who ate it. Now the Goddess asked for water to rinse her hands and mouth. But the child said "We have no waterpot. We go to the spring to bathe and wash". The Goddess said "There is a brasspot inside ; bring it to me". The child went in saying "But there is no such pot". When however the child entered the hut, there was, beheld a big water pot of brass, full of water to the rim. The child fetched it and poured out the water for the Goddess to wash her hands and rinse her mouth. The Luck Goddess said "I am pleased with you little sister. But say nothing about me", and left. After that the house was made better and these people did not live in want of food. Plenty of gold and silver was left in the pot for them.



THE LEPCHAS

The Lepchas of Kalimpong and Kurseong are tribal people of Sikkim who call themselves Rong. Originally Darjeeling and adjacent areas had been part of Sikkim and had been ceded to India for a payment.¹ The ancestors of the Lepchas of the Darjeeling district seem to have lived here prior to the inclusion of their settlements in British India. In 1891 the Lepchas in Sikkim and Darjeeling district together totalled a little over fifteen thousand, over three-fifths of whom lived outside Sikkim. In 1921 their number rose to eighteen thousand of whom nine thousand lived in Sikkim and the rest in Darjeeling district. The present number of Lepchas in this district is 13,374.

The language of the Lepchas is of the Tibeto-Burman family and they had a script devised for them nearly three hundred years ago. Literacy of Lepchas is, however, in the Nepalese language as the schools in Darjeeling district use this mainly as the medium of instruction of the hill tribes. Compared to their kinsfolk in Sikkim, the percentage of literacy among them is quite high. In Sikkim the proportion of literates among Lepchas is very low. The difference is due to the literacy drive by the State in the district in the Indian Union. The Lepcha association of the area has also encouraged the acquiring of literacy by the children of their tribesmen.

The Lepchas are an agricultural community. In Sikkim they live entirely by agriculture. In the Darjeeling district also cultivation of land, and agricultural labour are their major occupations. There is one difference. In Sikkim they practise shifting cultivation of the "Slash and burn" type, using hoe and bill hook. For wet cultivation of rice, the plough is used. This is a recent innovation through outside influence, probably of Nepalese immigrants. In Kalimpong area, the Lepchas practise settled agriculture. The British authorities who took over this area forbade the slash and burn method which led to destruction of valuable timber. Also, the Nepalese who have gradually come to own a good deal of the land in this area do not allow their tenants to practise such cultivation. Only wet cultivation is permitted. While agriculture is their sole occupation in Sikkim, the literate Lepchas of Kalimpong and Kurseong follow other avocations as well. Some work as teachers, others as

¹ Himalayan Journals by Sir J. D. Hooker, quoted in Appendix III, Census 1951, West Bengal, District Handbook Darjeeling, by A. Mitra.



clerks, and others again as traders. Those who are not literate are sometimes found to work as motor mechanics, in the garages opened for transport vehicles for men and goods.

Lepcha villages are not of large size often consisting of a little over a dozen cottages. The villages generally stand near the agricultural fields of the villagers. The huts are built of stone, bamboo and mud. The split bamboo pieces of walls are fixed in between four wooden poles and plastered with mud. Rafters of bamboo are laid for roofing ; and thatching is made usually of thin slips of bamboo, and nowadays also of other roofing material. In Sikkim the floor is raised from the ground and made of planks. While the roof proper is two sloped with open gables at ends, there are projecting caves all round the four sides of the house. Rice is eaten for the principal meal but in its place, boiled maize grains are also taken. Bread from buckwheat meal is also an important item of food in Sikkim and indeed along the hill belt in this area. A fermented drink of millet is common.

The dress of Lepcha men in Sikkim is now a pair of loose cotton shorts and a shirt but the old style vestment of a long and wide piece of striped cotton cloth is still thrown over these garments. It is wrapped round the body leaving the arms free. A cord is tied at the waist, after pulling up this cloth to form a kind of pocket to keep things in it. Hooker writing a century ago states that this was the main vestment of Lepchas in Darjeeling area in his time. At present modern dress, especially the common short and shirt is displacing old style clothing. Women's dress is much more elaborate. A shift and a blouse with a long sleeveless garment reaching to the ankles is usual.

In character, the Lepchas are described by Hooker as a peaceful quiet folk, scrupulously honest in their dealings. It was noted even then that these peaceful folk were losing ground before the Nepalese immigrants who were pouring into the Darjeeling district at the time. At present they have lost a good deal of their agricultural land to these later comers.

The Lepchas are patrilineal folk, living in extended families in Sikkim, and holding the landed property in common. Adelfhic, i.e., fraternal polyandry is found among them there; sexual license is also enjoyed by the younger brother with regard to the elder brother's wife.



But in Kalimpong polyandry has disappeared. Even in Hooker's time it was noted as getting rare. Land is no longer held in common in the Darjeeling district, and the Lepchas live mostly in simple families consisting of parents and children. Sometimes a widowed mother or some other relation also lives with them. The proportion of extended or joint families is small.

Marriage cannot occur among persons related patrilineally through males or with near relatives through the mother or father's sister. For arranging marriage, a go-between is appointed by each family desiring to have a marriage between their son and daughter. A preliminary visit is paid to the girl's house and thereafter the payment for the girl is settled. On the day of marriage the bridegroom proceeds with the gifts to the girl's house, where a feast is given to the guests and villagers. The village headman and the lamas if any of the village also attend as witnesses of the marriage.

Child-birth involves a pollution of one month. Naming of children and preparation of a horoscope is done after the third day of birth by a lama who calls for this purpose.

Disposal of the dead is by cremation and post-funeral offerings are made. Formerly inhumation was practised.

In Kalimpong the Lepchas have lost touch with their traditional lore of folksongs and tales. A few of these adapted from the monograph of Beauvoir Stocks are noted below :—

SONG OF THE CHAK DOON DOON

Nam toohat lat non ne, chak doon doon,
 Mong zo pat to chat ka, chak doon doon,
 Ka arfo lik-kang sa, chak doon doon,
 Gram gram pat gat shyo, chak doon doon,
 Kyo kacher tyat tachat, chak doon doon,
 An ore lat non gong, chak doon doon
 Tachat ore ka, chak doon doon,
 Hing book thyang gat shyo, chak doon doon,
 Chang ka akyot ad yang, chak doon doon
 Arenun matlung e, chak doon doon.



SONG OF THE "Chak doon-foT" (Bird)

The time and the season have come, chak doon doon,
 When it is the sowing time for millet and barley, chak
 doon doon

The pigeons cry, chak doon doon,
 You must sow quickly, chak doon doon
 It is the sowing time of barley and wheat, chak doon
 doon,

When they come up, chak doon doon,
 At that time, chak doon doon,
 Ginger and yams will be wanted, chak doon doon
 Don't miss the sowing time, chak doon doon,
 For at the end, chak doon doon,
 You will be happy, chak doon doon,

THE ORPHAN BOY AND THE BLACK SQUIRREL

Once upon a time, in the Lyang-bar country, there lived a brother and a sister who had lost their parents. They were poor and lived in a shed which they had built with the stalks of a plant. For food they had only the birds the boy caught by trapping and snaring. On some days, however, many birds were caught by a black squirrel, and this would leave them nothing to eat.

One afternoon they were without food, and the boy going to watch his traps saw the squirrel take away a bird that had been caught in one of his own snares on a tree. He felt angry and taking out his knife, he followed the squirrel. Keeping him in his sight he ran up and down three mountains until he came to the banks of a big river. There he caught up with the squirrel, who was so tired he could not run any more. The squirrel begged the boy to spare his life; he promised that if he spared his life he would work for the boy all his life. The boy spared the squirrel's life who, thereafter, became his slave.

As food was not available in plenty where they lived, the black squirrel asked his master to travel to the east. The boy agreed.

On their way to the country in the East, they passed the river where the Chinese Princesses used to bathe. Just then a princess was taking her bath and she had left her clothes on the bank. The



black squirrel noticed this, and asked his master to wait a few moments. The squirrel went up to the river and took up all the princess's clothes. She implored him not to leave her without clothing. But the black squirrel would not listen, unless she agreed to what he asked her to do. Then only he would give her back the clothes he had taken away; otherwise he would run away with them. She promised to agree to his conditions. On this the squirrel said she would have to marry his master, a young man who was with him.

The princess wanting her clothes back, consented immediately, but the black squirrel said:—"Promising is good, but not sufficient, swearing is better; put one of your hands in the river and swear you will accompany us, and will not return to your palace". She put both her hands in the river, and swore a great oath. But the black squirrel was not satisfied, and he told the princess to swear with her hand on a tree. This she did, and the oath was so great that the tree withered. Still the black squirrel was not content, and he told her to swear putting her hand on a rock. So the princess put her hand on a big rock that was standing near by and swore, and the oath was so great that the gigantic rock split in two. Then the black squirrel returned the clothes to the princess, who put them on and returned with him to the orphan boy. He went on ahead carrying her box full of ornaments and saying:—"Master and mistress, follow my footprints".

The black squirrel went on running ahead of them until he came to a big cowshed. Here he placed the box on the ground, and crying out loudly, asked for some water.

The cow-boy came out and invited him to drink their millet wine 'chi', but he replied that he was in a hurry, and wanted a drink of water. So the cow-boy gave him water to drink, and the black squirrel said:—"The King of Lyang-bar is coming, so get ready for him, you must put everything in order for the King".

On hearing this, the cow-boy tidied the shed and arranged sitting-places for two persons. When the orphan boy and the princess arrived and sat down, the black squirrel said to them:—"This is my master's cow-shed".

They stayed there for one night, and on the following morning, they prepared for their journey again, the black squirrel asking them to follow his footprints.



The black squirrel again ran on ahead of them until he came to a large building looking like a palace. In it seven demon brothers lived. In front of the palace he once more put down his box and crying out loudly, asked for some water. The seven demon brothers asked him in to have some refreshment, but he replied, he was in too great a hurry to eat, and just wanted some water. They gave him some water and then he said, "You seven demon brothers have given so much trouble to all the human beings, and to all the animals, that the Lyang-bar king is coming to kill you with all his army. I come to tell you of this as I am your friend."

On hearing this the demon brothers became restless, and started looking for hiding places, but the black squirrel said :—"You will not be able to hide yourselves anywhere because his soldiers are like an army of ants and will hunt you out anywhere. Only follow my advice and perhaps I shall be able to help you."

He asked some of them to dig a big hole, some to make a hearth of three stones, some to fetch water in a big pot and the remainder to collect firewood.

When they had all done their work, the black squirrel advised them to hide in the big hole they had made as the army would soon be coming. They all jumped into the hole and lay crouching there. In the mean time the squirrel put the pot of water on the hearth, setting fire to the wood they had collected. When the water began to boil, the squirrel threw it over them, killing them all.

After this he went inside the palace, and removed all the dead bodies of the human beings he found in the larder which had been kept there as food. The rest of the food other than this he left there. The dead bodies of men showed that the demons had been cannibals. Then he made all the other rooms in the palace clean and fit for living. Soon after this, his master and mistress arrived there.

The black squirrel led the princess to the larder showing her the food telling her it was all his master's property. Next he showed her the wardrobe and he told her all the clothes she saw belonged to his master. Then he showed her gold and silver in several rooms, and all the cooking vessels, and other utensils and told her that everything belonged to his master.

When she saw all these the princess was very astonished as she had no idea that the black squirrel's master possessed so much wealth.



She was pleased and excited, and they lived in the palace whilst the black squirrel cooked for them and served them. They lived there happily for sometimes, the boy forgetting all about the little sister left behind. But the squirrel reminded him of it and one day he told the princess he was going to fetch his master's sister who lived all alone a long way off. Taking some of the clothes from the wardrobe, and some food, he arrived at the shed and found his master's sister ill from lack of food. But he gave her food and brought her back to health and then took her to the palace where he introduced her to the princess. The sister now lived with them.

So twelve years passed and the black squirrel had been serving his master all this time.

"I have served you all this time" he said, "but I am from the Rum country, and must now return; so give me permission to leave."

But his master would not let him go, and he stayed for another three years. But even then they tried to prevent him escaping, so he sent them to sleep knowing they would dream, and prayed saying:—"Should the clouds separate when I ascend to the Rum country, we shall know that we are all to meet once more on this earth. But if they remain closed, we shall know we are only to meet in Heaven (Rum-lyang)."

The black squirrel was then wafted up to the blue skies, and as he was taking off all his earthly elements entering into Heaven, the three he had left awoke.

They were searching everywhere for the black squirrel in vain, when they cast their eyes heavenwards and saw him being swept upwards. They watched him until he was covered by dense clouds, and then knew from their dream they would not meet in this world again, and they wept. But after their time of mourning they lived happily ever after.

LEPCHA VERSION

"Saryak ānok bo sa ayok pryok"

Ayaba ryot kab kat nan saryak anok kat sa suk long thyor tho ba hado sa vet ong mat lang ayok yuk bi la bam ma. Ayaba Lyangbār sa lyang kāt ka ānam ing net ni an ing re ta-aya gam an hani net re lyang oba ka tak-nil gryāp sa li yuk lang bam-ni hang



am. Shen la hani nam-na re zo thong shong re shu la manin-ne shen la ānam re nan re ālong fo pong rem chya sāk lang, sot lang chya zo thong la bam ma, shen la kāthin pāt ka ore saryak ānok o bo re nan lat lang ore ver sa fo pong tyang dut lang, cham lang, chya thā bi lel fāt. An ālong ānam ing net la zo thong shambo fo pong la chyā fāt non ochong nan.

An saknim phet tot ka hani nam-na ātet sa tit dok lang phil chil nag shen ore ryot kab ong nan chya fo pong āem sek nen thombo pong lat lang om la ore saryak ānok bo nan ver nan dut ba lang tal kung ka ba hron long non det tang re ore ryot kab ong re nan chya si nyon. Shen, ālong ryot kab re ātet sa sak-alyak chhi lang hado sa bān kab dut ba lang ryak long nong ma an ha nan nom sa zong nom sa zong mat long lang hlo sam klyet songte ha nan ryak long nong shen ādek ka hani net la ung ung ātim kat sa Kyong chat ka Knya ma an otet pa ka saryak re pel yong lang chya lom makhan na lang ha nan chya nom lang chya cham fāt an saryak re ro lang liba ālong ho re kasam masot ta yong li lan lap dan sha ma. Go ādao sa vet ong mat lang nala chyapchhi shā la bam sho li hang sa ha nan la chya masotne.

An sare la saryak nan li rezong ālong hado sa vet ong mat shong ka chya bam-ma.

2. Along saryak ore nan Gyanok pano sa pandi sa ta-aya kab pand rem lya ba thi lang ore ryot kab sa dep ka bri mat be shong gam.

An kathin saknim kat ka ore saryak ānok bo nan hado sa āthing rem alom liba ālong kani net la chak lat kon not ka nong ka. Yong li lang chak lat kon sa lyang ka non det bām-bā la ung atim kat hyok lang non gat shong gam an hani nong lang ore Gyanok-pano sa pandi sa ta-aya kab sa ma thet lyang ka khya, ma an ung kyong ore sa āpun ka ore pandi sa ta-aya kab nan hado sa dam pong ot lang dyā tho hang gam. An saryak ānok bo nan chya nong si lang hado sa āthing rem vet me kani chyab kām ābi rong nāk ka li lang dingni tet paka saryak nan ore.

Pandi sa dam pong prok ba lang nong shong tet ka ore pandi sa ta-aya kab re chya pla lat lang liba go ādom lābdan are sha la dingma ālong kasa sa dam pong ba ma run na lot lang vung bo yong sha. Shen la saryak nan nahan ta chya manene. An ādek ka saryak



nan chya liba go shu linbo ring pong ka ho nen gongne go ādo sa dam pong lot lang vung bo sho mane yo-gong ne go nan thob thambo sa dam gam an ālong go ba lang lang non shong gam. Yong li hang sa an pandi kab nan liba go nen sho yong li hang sa do pandi sa kab dep ka tom chya mat ma an saryak nan liba peba kasa dep ka ong kat nibam an ho hado dep ka bri mat shong a yang mamat na shang a?

An ālong pandi kab re hado sadam lot lang thob shong sa tandok ka tak la liba go nen sho yong li hang sa saryak nan liba tom are re dikpa shen, kasa sa sam ka re kam makotne. An āre len ryu hang re ho ryak zom gat ma yong li long ung pun ka long nong lang pandi kab rem liba ādo ka pong ung plong katho ban ho ryak alom zo go āyu dep ka nong sho yong an kado sa di ka lot lang vung lang lot ma nongne yong, an ha nan hado sa āka pong ung plong katho lang chya salom lithombo yong ryak chya mat ma. Shen la ore ung re chya son, non ma.

Shen la ig da lot lang saryak sa sam re da lot lang makotne. Yong li lang ig da lot lang kung bong kā long-nong lang lima ado sa aka kung plong ka tho ban chya salom ryak zo bam yong yo yong saryak nan li reyong hado sa ka rekung plong ka tho lang yo hang sa do ore ryak re atet chen lang kung la yong lang chya son non ma Gunung do la ig da lot lang saryak sa sam re da Kotne an ig da lot lang pandi kab rem atim sagor ka long nong lang saryak ānok bo renan liba ādo sa ka sagor ka tho lang chya ho salom li reyong ryak zo. An ha nan la chya salom li reyong mat lang hado ka sagor plong ka tho lang ryak yo hang sa do ryak re atet sa chen lang sagor lachya rom non an ādek net chya flinon.

An ālong ryak ore pong chya zomlel lang sa ore saryak ānok bo nan ore pandi kab sa dam pong chya lot lang vung bi fāt ma an pandi kab re hado dam pongchya dyam lel lang sa saryak nan ore pandi kab rem chya banong lang ore ryat kab ka chya bi ma. An hani net la chhyom tan lel lang sa ba nan ālom dam dam mat lang ore pandi kab sa pansen, pandan an dam dyam remdyam sare la dom ka thap thombo pong chun-ba lang liba go ani net sa nahan nahan nong sho an āthing sa āni net re kasa sa thongpyol prek long ryak longdi''.

3. Saryak nan hado āthing sa shu re gyu-gichyo nimbo pong ba lang big byong, Kat ka khya lang lima are re kasa sā athing sa gam.



Saryak ore re tal rang han lem chya nong lang big byong kat ka khya ma an ore dom rem obi fāt plong ka tho ban, an ba luk ding ban ubi O-hoo-o-i" yong lik lang som la ding lang nāsa la ding lang lima kasam ung chyap kāmbo.

Big nag bo ong nan lik lang liba chyap kam Khazo chi thong na, yong lishen ha nan liba go zo thong shong malungne an go atet sa akan nima an ore big nag bo ong nan kadom chyap kam ung be lang kon ma an ore saryak ānok bo re nan liba shu la dig ma-gāt :

"Along lyang bar pano chya hron det bam an ho shu ri zung lang hado tandok ka dig tho"

An sut are pong thyo lang ha nan along big byong phyok sat lang moro net nan lyang zug thoma lat lang nan shong ka. An utet paka ore ryot kab sa pandi chya lat thi lang obi nan ma.

An saryak-ānok bo nan hayum rem ālomli bi ma : āre re kasa sa āthing sa big byong gam an obi hayu pong sayak kat bam lang lukal luk la hayu pong chyado not ka nong shong dik ma an saryak ānok bo nan liba go sare lamo ka non bo ka āyu pong kasa sā thong pyot pong rem nak lang prek long ryak long di O.

4. Saryak ānok bo re nan Dat mung nam na yong kakyok rem sot lel lang sā hayu pong di ore ka lat lang chya bam shong gam.

An saryak ore re along tal rang thang ka non det ba ba nan liātīm kat di yong sinyon ma an li ore ka re Dat mung nam na yong kakyok bam ni hang gam. An a hayum pong rem (Ankentobo) yong la li bam hang gam. An o Di sagong ka Dat mung nam-na yong kakyok bam ni hang gam. An hado sa dom re Di sa nahan fāt plong ka tho ba ding lang : O-hoo-o-i yong uli lik lang liba kasam ung Kam bo yong, shen la utet pa ka li ore nan Dat mung nam-na yong kakyok pladi lang liba chyap kam khazo zo ba an ha nan liba go nan lang zo thong shong malungne, go atet sa akan ni ma Kasam ung katab kam bo an hayu hadom ung bi ma an ha nan hayum pong rem chya li ma :

Āyu Dat mung nam-na yong kakyok bo nan namshim nyu pong an thamchyang thambeg pong rem āyu pong nan āgyab kidak bi bam ma yongre sut lyang bar pano nan thyo lang āyum pong rem sot shong tandok ka hado sa mongmi ba lang deb ka hron det ma go āyu sa tyol yong mat lang, an ayu sa suk long thyor shong ka sut dan ka hrong ma".



An Dat mung nana-yong kakyok re sut are pong re chya thyo lang hayu pong alat ká sam chya maketne along hayu pong goyong chya khur lang ma shong sa lomchya dong ma. Otet paka saryak anak bo re nan liba :

Ayu do pong sibi ribi la ma gong la ayu ma makhan-ne. Shugo yo gong shen hado sa mongmi re takfil takdyam saduk kang gam. An ayu sabá do la ma gong la á-yum cham fát shong gam. Along ayu pong kasa sa tut ka van gong ne go áyu sa suk pong long thyor khatpu.

An ha nan tyang rem lik lang álom* tut bi ma an ayu pong nen-na "áflik nan ányang tang-hong du ha, an áflik nan long atim sam badi lang gyápha chok-ha an aflik nan ung chyuk badi tho ha anaflik chomlonan sháng gyom lang bathi tho yong li lang along ayu pong mi mat fya chak an ung lok lang chum kon nang sa chya thom kon an hayu pong chya ka thombo ayok pong chya zuk lel lang sa saryak nan hayum pong rem liba ayu pong dam dam mat lang ore tanghong atim du thambo ka ma yong sa tut bi ma along panu sa dep ka átet sa mong-mi pong long bron det tang young li hang sa hayu pong tyang, la ore tang -hong ka tahab thet lang pil pil gáb lang shit lang ma long non det bachya hayu do nan ung chak lang chu nan bo rem, ore saryak anak bo re nan tal ba nong lang ore hayu sa áplong ka hrya lok lang tyang la chya sot lel ma.

An ayok are pong chya zuk lel lang sa ha ore di sagong ka chya van nong shen ha nan shu si hang go shen mora sa áfang bo kat ka pyang tho da ni bu ha nan si lang liba Dat mung song re morá sa man zo bambo yamba yong li lang ha nan ore di sagong pong ákyet ákyum sa mat lang bam shong ka sat bak lel lang sa hado sa áthing sa áni chyá chyan lat thi.

An gan len mahan saryak nan pandi rem nahan long lang di sagong ka chya long kor long lom lang net lang dan be long lom ma áre re kasa sa áthing sa man thom lyang gam an a sa lon da lot lang dam thom lyang ka long kor lang net lang liba re kasa sa áthing sa dam thom lyang gam. An da lot lang zer kom, gyu gichyo pong tho shambo sa bo sagong ka la long kor ma an a long azom áthen zuk shambo sa fya kol pong sa thom lyang ka la long kor lang liba are tyang gan pong kasa sa áthing sa gam. An tham sare la pandi nan si lang yit cya chhinon shugoyo gong shen saryak sa áthing re átet sa



gyu gichyo ni hang re go satha la mayan-ne an pandi re go lang yit chhi non an ore hayu pong di ore ka chya bam-ma an saryak anak bo nan hanim rem azon áthen chya zuk bi la bam-ma.

5. Along ryot kab sa ta-aya ing rem saryak nan lya nong lang ba lo thi shong gam.

An káthen saknim kat ka saryak nan pandi rem liba nak. Ka kasa sa athing sa ta-aya ing rem go dong nong gat sho an ha lyaug áram ka bam ni hang gam. An ha lyaug bar lyaug ka chyap kam big long bam lang nak bamma yongli lang ha dam thom bo ka nong lang dam áryum aryum nak lang chun ba, an ázom áthen la kam ba lang chya nong lang oba big byong lyaug ka chya kha ma. Shen la hado sa athing sa ta-aya ing re tit dok lang mak long non bo re ha nan nong nom-ma an ha nan shula do dik bin lel lang sa hadom di ka chya long brong lang hani dep ka tho ma an pandi rem chya long thyak kon ma an alom libi ma álong a yu tyang pong abi bam gat shong gam.

6. Along saryak re "Ram" lyaug ka chya lot vung lot nong shong gam.

An saryak re vot ong mat lang bambo re nam kati net thap chya pit non ma an nam atet songte bore hado sa athing sa vet ong mat lang chyapchhi sha la bam ma.

"An ha nan lima álong go átet songte bo re ado sa vet ong mat lang cyapchhi sha la bam ma" go ne Ram lyaug nan yat bo gam álong go Ram lyaug lem lot vung lang nong gat sho yong li lang lab dan sha ma. Along kasam lyot-ta.

Shen la hado sa athing nan hadom non-makon-ne an ho nam sám ne chya bam lel an álong ho ig da lot lang namfali bam gat ma an gong ádom go non-kon sho yong li hang sa ha salom la chya mat makhan nan lang ba chya tet shong ka do chya ke lang álong hayum pong rem chya "mi" lang dya ma an hayu pong mong zong gun da ni hang sa ha álong man lom tob lang chya lima :—

Along go tal Ram lyaug ka lot nong -ba kam-byong pong la fi non O an lom makok na O. An kayu la ya shong gam ig da lot lang sakdam ka pho kat da cham sho.

Kayu álong tyang la ya la ham shong gam álom mat lang chet tang nan gong ne chha ápin Ram lyaug ka katab cham shong gam.



An álong saryak ánok bo re lyang sakdam sa kidak pong lyot lang tal talyang thang hayum pong chyom-yet lang lot lam non hang sa hayu sám bo re chya si hrong ma shen la hadom chya masin na lang an hayu pong gu chya thom non lang sabá ánom ore saryak ánok bo rem chya dong lang dang ma shen la hayu pong nan masin na lang tho kur lang tal ta-lyang thang nak nyon shen atet sa adam mat lang tal ta-lyang ka non fát tho.

An hayu pong nan kam masin nan tet rong ding lang nak ding. ni shen kambyong atong nanchya lat lang tak fát ma. An álong kayu pong la chyá ya ma salom mong ka si rezong re lyang sak-dam ka do la lot lang cham mathob-ne. Yong li lang a-lo kyok sakdok, shot lang hryob ma. An álong hayu pong a-lo kyok sakdok pong lyot lel lang sa hayu pong luk hrong lang tyang la áchhyom atan sa mat lang di ore ka ágo ani sa mat lang ehha aten song te bam-ma.

THE FOOD-PRODUCING SKIN

Once upon a time there was an orphan boy who had only a little land and who wandered looking for work from village to village. Once he came to a village where one of the inhabitants had killed a sheep, and was drying the skin. He begged the villager to give him the skin, and on receiving it, he kept it in his hut. He then got work and every day he went out to work. When he returned home, he found everything was always prepared for him: his meals were cooked, while a drink was also made ready.

It happened that at this time the rice crop on his land which was ready for harvesting had been destroyed by monkeys and rats. Greatly annoyed he set traps for these and managed to catch a monkey and a rat, whom he was about to kill, when they both cried out: "Have mercy on us, and spare our lives, for one day we shall be useful to you." So the boy spared their lives, and went away to the river. There he raised the basket traps he had put in the stream to catch some fish, but in place of any fish he only found a big toad. This toad he was going to kill when it cried: "Have mercy on me, and spare my life, for one day I shall be useful to you." The boy was moved by his pleading and let him go.



Near the hut of the boy there lived a demon who had 18 heads, and when he heard there was an orphan boy in the village who had a skin which could produce what food was required, he decided he would get it from the boy. So one day he went to the cottage and stole it when the boy was out.

When the boy returned to his hut, and discovered his loss, he realised that the demon had taken it. So he called the monkey, rat and toad, and said he now required their help to try and get back his skin from the demon who had stolen the food-producing skin. The monkey, taking the rat and toad on his shoulders, went to find the skin, and they found the demon in his house, across a big river and sleeping near the skin.

The skin was hanging high up from a rope reaching to the ground. The rat ran up the rope and gnawed through with his teeth the rope just above the skin, so that it fell to the ground. Then the monkey put them all on his shoulders, and started going back.

They came to the big river, and the monkey put the skin in his mouth, saying he would be able to swim across with them. He then put the skin in his mouth, and telling them to be quiet he commenced swimming.

Midway across, both the rat and the toad began to ask the monkey questions. These he took no notice of, but at last the rat bit his ear, and he had to open his mouth and speak so that the skin fell down to the bottom of the river.

The toad said: "I think I shall be able to help you, but you must go on until you meet a woman with her spinning rod. Once you get this, I shall be able to start working."

The monkey went on till he met a woman spinning and she readily gave up her spinning rod when the monkey asked her for it. The toad asked his friends to wind the thread round his body, and to hold on the other end of it the whole time.

They led the toad down to the very bottom of the river and he found the skin which he brought to the bank of the stream. Then they arrived at the orphan boy's hut, the monkey carrying them as before. There they gave the skin to him, and as they put it down on the floor a lovely girl stepped out.



She told the orphan boy to shake the skin inside and outside the shed. Wherever he did this, gold and silver coins sprang up out of the ground. Many guards and servants also appeared so that the orphan boy found himself very rich. He and the lovely girl became married and lived happily ever after.

So we learn the Rum (who are the gods who cause happiness) won, while the Mung (who are the evil demons who cause sorrow) were defeated.¹

Lepcha version :

KOMBO NAN ÁZOM Á THEN LONG IT TANG.

1. Ryot kab kát nan ágyen sa kombo a til thub ba hang sa song gam :—

Ayaba ryot kab kát re átet sa yit chhimbolá gam án ha re Kyong, Kyong ka an thom thom ka kor long lombá kathinpát ka ong ore nan kyong kát ká nong bá abá bámbó moro song nan lak sot thomba sa áthun kát ha nan se lang atil ul'na an ha nan thob lang li ka ba lot nong lang thoma. An ha saknin, saknim ka ayok zuk ka nong lang lot thubá na la hado sa tankok ká shuni zo shangbo an thong shambo pong an ázom pong nu lang dik lang tho bámb hang gam. An ha lot thi lang na la olom zo thong bámb mang gam.

Shen la kathin pát ka álom nun ma ha nan thuk, zo pát thombo re men lang ayek tachat ka tyang áge pong ayek lang, saha sa kalok nan lát lang lok den be fát shen la álong ha sák-lyák lang saha, sa kalok pong rem cham lang sot shong ka chyá ryák long mong shen ha nan hanim met la mong nom ma an ha nan lima álong go a yum pong rem ma sot nang sa sathá la malyot ne yong li hang sá hani net nan lik lang liba kani plong ka "Kyondit" mat an kayu sa suk long thyorbo ha an kayu la kathin ádo sa ayok ka tapku. Yong hani nan li hang sa hanim rem ma sot na lang lyot nyon ma análong ong hare ung kyong ka nong lang sangli ther lang nu chám long nong ma an ha nan lyáng kát ka da lot lang sangli ther nyon shen ha nan shu si hang go shen nu chhob ka sangli sagong ka takryok ápák kát chyá non bámb mang ha nan chyá si lang hadom chyá sot shong tet ka taryok nan lik lang liba kasam "Kyondit" mát kasa sa suk re lya ma bon-na kasam lyot nyon gong go chang ka ho shu do la sát chhet

¹ The Lepcha words that always end a story.



tang sa anyok pla gong go ádo sa lentob mát khatpu yong li hang sa do hadom la chyá lyot nyon ma.

2. Along Dat mung kát nan ore ryot kab sa kombo rem chyá takmu mát lang ba di shong chyá do ke bám.

An ryot kab ore hado sa ápun ka arep zong sa Dat mung kát ni bám an hado sa áthyak re kati—kaka-thab chyur bám ni hang gam, an Dak mung nan sut thyo ba lyáng lyáng ore kyong kát ka ryot kab kát ni bám an hado lyáng ka áreb zong sa kombo kát nibám an kombo ore nan shu do sa ázom pong la chingbo pong zuk dik khat bam mang gam, yong re Dat mung nan chyá ya lang liba a long hado sa lika nong lang go hado sa kombo rem takmu mát lang chun badi sho yong álat kaching ma. An ha salom álat ka ching rezong ha kathin pát ka ore ryot kab sa li ka nong lang ryot kab re li ka mabám naba Dat mung nan nong lang ryot kab sa kambo rem chyá takmu mát ba lang moro do li ka ba lot thi non ma.

An ong re saba do nan lot vung lang lika lot the shen hado sa kombo dya thombo re chyá fát non shen along ha chyá ya lang, ha nan saba, kalok an tokryuk, hado sa lentob mát shong ká hayum pong rem chyá lik ma an ryot kab nan hayum pong rem chyá chyá li bi ma álong ayu pong kasam len tob mát gát, nak ka shu go shen kasa sa kombo re Dat mung nan chyá takmu mát lang kasali nan ba non tho fát álong áyu pong do ke lang lot lang kit ba lot di bo, o yong, bi hang sa hayu pong nen lang álong saha nan kalok sa takryuk rem hado sa tak-pang plongka chun ka ba lang nong shen saba ore Dat mung do ni bu lyáng ká nong lang chyá nom-ma.

An kombo ore re tak-po sa hyan nentho shen Dat mung re mayan na ba kalok nan dang nong lang salom áplong ka kombo nán bo rem afo sa chyá tyat lang fát plong ka glet yat tang sa tak la saha nan hado sa tak-pang ka ba lang,—an salom kalok, takryuk an kombo pong ba lang chyá ba tet ma.

3. An ore kombo re ung sagong ká klu non bo re da lot lang thub pang gam.

An álong hayu pong ung átim kát ka khya ma an saha nan ching bá hani nan shuk kasam thám mavet na gong ne kayu tyang la ung fa ba lang ung pin kya shong gam, an saha nan hanim net rem álom libi ma áni go ung fá ba nong hang sa kasam shu la tham mavet o yong li lang ore kombo rem afo sa chyá chuk ba lang hanim net la ba lang ung chyá fá ba lang nong ma.



Along hayu pong ung fá ba lang ung lat ka chyá khya ma shen la utet pá ka kalok an ta-kryuk nan hadom tham chyá vet ma shen la ha re shu la mathyon na zong mát lang non det shen kalok nan hado sa nilop ka áfo sa chyá chuk bi hang sa ha dok lang lik-kang sa ábong fot lang tak la ore kombo re klu lang ung sa tingka chyá kya non ma. An álong hayu salom la mát lang chyá klo ma gyun ne yong ching lang li ba á long kombo áre re lot thob shong sa lom masin ne álong chha apin ká katáb lot lang thob shong gam.

Yong li shen ta-kryuk nan hanim tut kát li bi ma :—shuk go áni sa lentob mát khat pu. Shen la áni ayok kát zuk gát ma an sane la ta-aya kát nan ki ze nanbo rem macham nang songte hado lyáng (hado lyang) ka nong lang ki ul ba li ha an gong go ayok are chyá zuk shong gam''.

Along ta-kryuk nan li rezong saha la takla ore ta-aya rem chyá macham nang songte chyá don ka nong ma an ha dong ba long nong shen ha nan chyá nong cham ma, an ha nan hadom, nong lang ki ul ma an ha nan la ki bi ma an saha re chyá ki thob ba lang hani net lyáng ki chyá ba lot thima. An ta kriu nan hado sa tyol nim rem álom li bi ma álong áni net nan ki are sa kasa sa pang ka ki ar sa kor lang dam ma an ki are sa ádek re malyot na lang áni net nan chám ba ding na.

Ta-kryuk nan li rezong hani net nan ki sa ádek rem chyá cham bading hang sa ung sa ting sagong ka chyá thet nong lang ore kombo rem nong dong lang chyá thob lang ba lot pla lang ung chot ká lat lang tho ma. Along saha nan ore kombo an hanim net chyá salom mát rezong ba lang ryot kab lyang kachyá lot thi ma.

Along hayu pong ore kombo rem ryot kab ka anto plong ká tho lang lot tát bi hang sa tak la obi nan ta-aya kab nam leng átet sa azak kat chyá pla di ma.

Along ta-aya kab ore nan ryot rem álom chyá li ma "kombo" are rem li sagong ka an lyáng ka tok long lom-ma li hangsa he nan la olom li rezong chyá tok long lom shen obi nan zer, kom, chyá pla long di ma, an satet lambo, an vet ong pla long di ma an ryot kab re atet sa chyá phyak bro lang hani net la álong lyáng oba aket adyang an ago ani sa mát lang na la áten chyá bám-ma.

Along kayu Ram ma yong hang rechyá thyák hang gam salom Ram nan áket á kyum lyáng ka long khya shong gam. An Dat mung



re ore gam áshot ádet sa lyáng ka long khya shong gam álong mung pham "Ram" chyá ge.

A TALE ABOUT AN ORPHAN BOY

1. The orphan boy is stolen by a tiger :

Once upon a time there was an orphan boy who had no home of his own. So he lived with his brother and sister-in-law who did not care for him and never looked after him. In fact they looked on him with aversion and would not let him sleep in a proper place. So he had to lie in the corner of their hut where the rubbish was kept.

As he was lying there alone one day, wrapped in his blanket and body cloth feeling very sad, a tiger came along, and picking him up, carried him away. When the tiger reached the foot of a mountain, he put down the bundle on the ground to eat the boy. But the tiger discovered he was holding some clothes only as the boy had slipped out of them a long way back. The tiger thereupon retraced his steps and began to search for him.

When he had escaped, the boy walked on and on towards the sunrise finding at last a cowshed. He did not see any herdsman, only noticing cows and calves. But finding much butter and cheese and feeling very hungry he ate these until he was satisfied. After that he thought he would clean the shed. Having done so he climbed on a tree that was growing outside, and fell asleep.

At sunset he heard the cattle returning, and noticed that they had very long horns. The cattle also noticed that the shed had been swept clean and that the cheese and butter had been eaten. Noticing foot-marks the cattle followed the footprints to the tree where they discovered the boy asleep on the top. They found also a tiger crouched at the bottom ready to spring upon him. The buffaloes at once rushed on the tiger, pinning him to the trunk of the tree till his entrails stuck on to their horns. Then they asked the boy to climb down. He was so frightened that the tree shook with the trembling of his body. But the buffaloes insisted on his coming down and then carried him on their horns to the shed. Then they asked him to be their master crying:—"Up to now no one has ever looked after us, so you must be our king." They banded him a pair of golden flutes with a pair of bamboo ones



telling him that when he was in any difficulty, he was to blow the golden ones, when they would know by the sound he was in danger, but should they only hear the sound of the bamboo flutes, they would know he was but whiling away the time playing these.

Every day the herd went out grazing, leaving the boy alone in the shed and came back in the evening. One day, a hunter who came from the Lung-da country, found the boy in the shed, with many buffaloes and thought the boy must be a rich man. When the buffaloes went away to graze the hunter spoke to him, asking him to go to the Lung-da country. "The King there," he said, "had a daughter, who had only drunk three times from her mother's breast, and had then been placed in a dark room: She was very beautiful, would he not try to see her?" But the boy did not want to leave his cowshed, and when the hunter tried to take him away by force, he blew on his golden horns, and at the sound all the buffaloes came running together lowing. The hunter was alarmed, and fled to the Lung-da country. There he approached the king, told him that he had met a wonderful Prince far away. He had tried to take him away by force, but he had blown upon a pair of golden horns and a herd of buffaloes had come to his rescue. Terrified at this he had come home, but he wished to tell the king that he had found a suitable Prince for the Princess.

This news pleased the king who called his diviners asking them how he could obtain the Prince for a son-in-law.

The diviners could not foretell anything, but at last they discovered a maid in the palace who was a she-devil. She told them that if they promised her a reward she would procure the Prince. They gave her a good feed, so turning herself into a crow, she flew to the cowshed, hopping from post to post cawing.

This annoyed the orphan boy who threw burning sticks out of the fire at her. But he failed to hit her as she always flew away in time. At last he had nothing within reach but the hearthstones. So in anger he flung these, and then he threw the golden flutes at her. These the crow at once picked up, returning with them to the Lung-da country. She showed them to the king, telling him he could now send men to fetch the Prince whom they would find in a cowshed.

The king sent a party of men, who discovering the shed surrounded it and caught hold of the orphan boy. He played his bamboo flutes



wildly, but the sound only meant he was amusing himself, and the buffaloes did not return.

The Lung-da men dragged him to the palace, and the king shut him up in the dark room in the 12th layer of the wall, where his daughter had been kept, and closed and locked the door.

Now hours, days, weeks, months and years passed by, but the buffaloes had no news of their master.

Now the shed lay in the jungle, and a buffalo called Thage, who had gone away and not seen his master for 20 years, thought he would return and visit him again. Not finding him; the buffalo determined to stay near the shed until his master returned, but he waited so long that he sank into the ground, at length only his mouth and the ends of his long horns showed.

Then one day the boy now a youngman found his golden horns in the palace by chance and went back to his cowshed once more. He found Thage, the buffalo who was buried and told him how a hunter from Lung-da country with whom he had talked had sent many men to fetch him by force; how for several years, the king of that country had shut him up in a room built in the 12th layer of the wall and how he had only been able to escape by finding his golden flutes. These he blew loudly calling all the other buffaloes, who came running and stamping till the ground was shaken with their tread, and the noise of their bellowing was like thunder. He told them the same story he had told Thage. They all rushed to the Lung-da country lowered their heads, and tried to toss the palace up with their horns.

The king grew very alarmed. "Do not destroy my palace," he cried, "I will give you anything you want." The buffaloes answered: "Give us your daughter who is hidden away in a room that lies in the 12th layer of one of the walls. We demand her as a ransom."

The king told them he would present her to them with one half of his kingdom, only they themselves would have to leave the country.

They left it in great state with the Princess who had eight women-attendants on her left-hand side, and eight male-attendants on her right.

When they had come back to the jungle, the buffaloes built a palace for the Prince and the Lung-da Princess. It was so high up that the Rum country was but an elbow length away, and as it hung



in the air, it was far above the ground. A great feast was given, much 'chi' was drunk, and the land was called Jambo-ihā, the buffaloes made thrones for the orphan boy and his wife, who became king and queen of that country.

And in that valley, we Rong-folk believe that best butter and milk can be obtained.

Lepcha version :

RYOT KAB KAT SA SANG

1. Ryot kab rem sathong nan takmu mat lang ba nong hang gam.

Ayāba ryot kab kát nima an sane la hadom re Ryothub-sang yong li bam mang gam. An ryot kab ba re bām-nan shong la lipa manin-ne an hado sa ánam an ázong nan la ma nak ne an ha re ánam sa ázong deb ka bāmni bo gam shen la hadom hayu pong nan a yang ma mát-ne, an hadom na la chyabu mát long bām-ma an hado sa ádá ánáñ re saba muk phyok lang tang kyong ka pyang thombu ka nán dá bām mang gam.

An kathin pát ka álom nun ma an ha re átet sa sakdok lang da ni ba sathong kát pla lát lang an ha da niba mayan na lang hadom dam prok sa deb ka kyat la chunba lang sathong do sa ázom áthen zom lyang sagor bong ka ma khyan nan songte hadom ba lang nong lang sagor sa ábong ka chyá tho ma an sathong nan hadom chyá zo shong ka ore damprok rem chyá fat nak shen dam prok katab gam an ryot kab re chya bām ni hang masen-ne, an átet sa áram chyá lamu ka badi ba chyá sathá nan damprok nan ryot kab re klet klu non thombo re sathong nan mayan tho hang gam, an sathong re hadom masin na lang chyá dabel lang da lot lang dong nong ma.

Along ryot kab re sathong sa ábong nan chyá thon lang ha re sabá sachak plam kon chyá tet nong shen ádek sakni ka ha re big sa byong kát ka khya ma an ha to la masin ne an hu re ching ba ábire big long bigu sa big kab katáb bam ni tho pa an ha otha átet sa tet dok bam ba ha nan mor, sa chhya chyá si lang satet kot tet nan lang chyá nan lang zo ma, an álong ha sam la chyá kot non ma.

Along ha chyá zom lel lang sa ha álom chyá sakching ma álong go big byong áre pong phyok sat thom gat she pá yong li lang chyá phyok sat lang thom lel lang sa big byong punka kung átim á hren kát lin nan bu ka táí hron lang á nyak ka nong lang da pan bām ma.



2. Along ryot kab ha re mábi song sa chyá panu nun shong gam.

Along sachak chyá thet ta chat ka ore big long song moro do sa byong ka lat lang vung di hang sa asut re ha nan chyá thyu ma an ha nan nak nyon sen hayu sa arong re átet sa á hren si nyon ma, an álong big long pong hayu sa byong ka lot thi shen átet sa azak mát lang phyok sat tho hang hayu pong nan chyá si ma, an hayu pong sa ázom khu, an mor pong la chyá zo thong fat tho si lang álong hayu pong nan hado sa dyang phyol rem chyá prek long nong shen la kung kat lin ran bu sa ányák ka mik tab nan ni hang re hayu nan si nyon ma an ore kung sa a bong ka sathong la kat hadom chyá ther shong gyan nan ma. An álong big long pong nan si lang chyá ahur long nong lang árong sa sathong rem kung bong sa nib lang chyá chet lang tak kil ta dyang phya lang chyá sat nyon ma, an sathong rem chyá sot lel hang sa ore hayu pong kung bong sa apun ká ding lang liba álong ho kung nan lot yet yaha yong li shen la ore ong re ru la chya la chyá yet ya shen ha ven thir bo re kung bong la chyá nyok long non ma gurung la ha ro chya la kung nan chyá yet ya ma an chyá yet ya hang sa tak la árong árong chok lang hadom árong plong plong ká ká ba lang hayu do sa byong ka ba lot thi lang tho ma.

An hayu pong nan tyang la zum lang lik lang vitba along ho kayu sa dokbu nun gát ma :—an kayum pong nak bu la to la manin ne along ho kayum rem nak gat shong gam an kayum nak bu ne to la manine álong ho kayu sa lapanu nun gat shong gam. Yong li lang zer sa palit nebyrok kát an zer sa pan tong palit chhyá kát mát lang hadom chyá bí ma an hayu pong nan hadom rem álom libi ma nak ka kayu pong layng aram pazok ka zot ka nong ba ádo sa plong ka sareb sareb zong sa tok panchet lat lang zok gong ho nebyrok palit are thob gong ho kidak zok bām mang re kayu ya lang lot thi shong gam, an palit are kat re thob gong ne ho áket ádyang sa mát lang an tachat rem chyá pit kon la bam mang kayu pong nan ya shong gam an kayu pong lot mathin shong gam.

3. Álong Lang-da panu sa ta-aya kab kát sa deb ka bri mát bi shong ka sherábu nan hadom rem chyá nong lang lak shong gam.

Along big long pong re sak-nim sak-nim kapazok ka zot kanongba ore ryot kab re big byong pong chyá phyok sat lang hado katáb big sa byong ka bām ni hang gam. Shen la káthin saknim pát ká Lang-da : Yambu sa lyáng nan shera bu kát vung langore ryot kab lyáng ka chyá



platát lang ore ryot kab rem si lang chyá sak ching ba ong are re á tet sa phyak bá m ni hang re ha chyá yit chhi non an sherá bu ore hado lyang ká nong lang liba ho kasa deb ká Lang-da yambu sa lyang ká nong ká yong lima.

An sherábu nan álom li bi ma an lyáng obása panu sa ta-aya kab kát ni bá m ma an ha re ámusa nin pho sám katáb thong tho hang gam an ho phokát hadom nak ma nong nang shang A?"

Yong li shen ryot kab re big sa byong lyot lang ha re sbibi lá ma nong ne. Yong li hangsa sherabu nan hadom anyo ánti mát lang chyá long nongshong chyádo ke ma shen la otet pá ká hado sa zer sa kong-ling re chyá mát shen ore big long pong sut chyá thyu lang ore ryot kab rem gyob mát ká big long pong tyang la kataring ka chyá hok-kang moro do sa byong ka big long dob pong lát lang brong bang sa ore shera bu re ro lang Lang-da yambu do sa lyang ká lot vung lang tyet di non ma, an shera bu, oba lot thi lang álong panu rem chyá dan bi ma an go nan lyang áram kát ká yit chhim bo lá sa panu á ákab kát si ma an ong ore re panu do sa pandi kab deb ka nri mát bigong dik ma.

An go hadom badi shong ka chyá do ke yang lahado sa zer sa árong sa kong-ling sa mat shen blg long pong sa adob pla lat thi hang si lang go li lem lot tyet di non ma an álong ong ore re panu do sapandi kab deb do ká bri mát bigong ne lát lang dik ma, an panu sa akab sa duk ma an go nak ren thyok non ma. An sang are pong panu nan thyo lang sam chyá go non ma an álong panu nan cha bu pong rem chyá lik lang libi bá áyu tyang gan na cha nak ka ong ore rem salom mát lang kasa sa ta aya pandi kab deb ka bri mát ben khat shong go?

An ha kasa sa salom mát lang myok pur khat shong gam.

4. Álong ore ryot rem, Dat mung ta aya kát rem chyá don ka klong shong gam.

An álong chabu song nan la ore hadom badi shong ka shu la dan makhan nean áchyak sakni ka hayu nan lyáng ore sa di pun ka, Dat-mung ta-aya kát bá m ni hang re hayu nan cham ma an hayu pong nan, ore ryot kab sa sang pong hadom dan be shen, ore Dat-mung ta-aya nan libá go ore panu kab rem badit khat ma shen la ayu kasam shu bo shongsa kasa sa deb ká tom mát shong go. Shen la álong hayu nan hado deb ka álong tom chyá kyob lang tho ma. Álong hayu nan hadom átet sa áryum am sa ázom zuk lang be zom kon ma an ha lika



lot vung lang nong lang tak la u lák ka lyok lang ore big byong ka chyá lam nong lang big byong sa dampu plong kát ka, kát plong ka pil chyá, lik tyak, lam chat lika lam la bámb ma an alom do bámb mát shen.

Ore ryot kab nan she shot lang mi zudábu mipák kát sa chun lang hadom tyuk she hatak tak lam non an hadom satet mát gong la zok makhan, an ha álom do bámb mát lang, shu pong la chyá tyuk lel fát an along gya-pba—pom thombu sa la ha chun lang hadom tyuk shen a la hadom chyá zok makhan na lang ha chyá da la lam non ma.

An álong ha she shot lang hado sa zer sa palitsa chyá tyuk nyon ma hado sa apong, an alak ore nan chun ba lang Lang-da yam bo sa lyáng ka da ba lot lang lam non ma. An ha nan ba nong lang panu rem chyá net bi ma an ha nan lima along panu kab rem don ka moro pong klong nyon na an sane la hadom big byong ka thob shong gam.

An álong panu nan moro pong chyá kak lang lik lang ore ryot kab rem chyá dong lang lya kaklong nyon ma. An ore moro pong re big byong kachyá nong lang ryot kab rem chyá vor lang chám shongte ka ha nan hado sa zer palit re mát ma shen la big long pong nan thyo ma shen la álong hayu pong nan chyá ya, ha re moro do áket ádyang ka bámb nima yong big long pong nan áyang mamát nan lang moro do dokbu ryot kab sa butob ka lot vung lang madin ne. Shu go yo gong shen ayo big long pong nan hadom li thombo zong ádo plong ka tok panchet lát lang zok gong ho zer palit sare kayu nan ádom bo thombu sa chun lang mát O yambu re ha mamát nang sa ore rangso re mát shen to la nang to mát bu manin ne.

Along ore Lang-da sa moro song nan hadom ánjo ánti sa chyá chám lang azyom ba lang Di ka ba lot thi ma hang sa tak la ore ryot kab rem panu nan ba nong lang danok bo sa gong kachyá ba nong lang hab tho ma an sare la chak bu re asher kati net thab (12) ni bámb bu hang gam an sare la re a sa gong ka hado sa pandi kab ta-aya rem nen tho hang gam an álong panu nan tang-veng rem hab lang dimik sachyá kyob lang chyá chyom yet ma.

Olom mát lang ryot kab rem chyá ba non lel lang sa, álong big long pong nan, tachat, saknim sayak, lavo, nam la chyá pit non gong la ha yu sa dogbu sa shusut éá la chyá mathyon ne.



Along ryot kab ore re big sa byong ka chyá da lot vung lang da lot the shong gam.

An big byong re pazok sa alat ka nibam mang gam an oba big long pong sa nong ka big long kat mima an hado sa ábryang re Thagi" yong gam. An big long ha re hado sa dogbu rem masin nambu re nam kha kat nun-non ma. An big long ha re lot kor lang vung lothi hang a hado sa dogbu rem masin na lang a-lu kyok, sak dok la bám ma guruug la hado sa dogbu re masin-ne, an big long ha álom sak ching ma hado sa dogbu re pho kat ta ba lot kor lat thi shong gam an álong ha big byong are ka chyá rong ding ma an hado sa dogbu bu lot mathin nang songte. An ha átet sa ding lang rong bu re ha sabá dingbu lyang la chyá hong long non ma an lyang la hong lang hado sa maza la chyá nab non ma an hado sa arong katáb chyá si bám ma an átet song te chyá nab non ma hado sa bren bu arong sa abong ka táb chyá siding ma.

An kathin pat ka (Ryot-thob sang) re hado sa zer sa arong sa kongling re lot thob pang sa sang gam an álong ha pho kat salom relom mát lang thob ba lang lot thor lang chyá ore big byong lyáng ka da lot khya ma.

An Thage yambu big long rem ha man álomchyá si ma fát sagong ka chyá lab ding ni hang, an álong ryot kab nan hadom rem álom, sa sang chyá dan bi ma nak ka salom mát lang dang da lyáng sa shera bu kát pla lát lang kasa deb ka sang dan lang ha lot vung nong lang ha nan oba sa moro pong klong lang kasam dong ba ba long the lang anzo ánti sa mát lang kasam chám hret ba lang ore panu lyáng ka ba khya lang sare hado sa bo li zuk thombu an ásher kati net thab nibam bu ka nam satet kam tho ma. Shen la go salom, relom mát lang go lot lang thor dima, an kasa sa zer sa zen sapalit la lot lang thob fát ma.

An hado sa zer palit sa átim chyá mát lang ore big pong rem chyá kak ma, an ore big pong palitsa sut thyo hang sa big long pong sa adob pong re átet sa sam go lang hok kang chyá di ba re fát pong la matli dibám zong dig su ma an big long pong uor kyob bu re sunam saduk ma.

An álong ha nan chyá salom Thage big long rem sang dan be rezong re ha nan ore big áflik pong rem la olom sang chyá dan bi ma.



An sang ore pong hayu nan chyá thyo lang along hayu pong Katáring ka hayu sa áthyak fát ka chok ba lang an sher ba lang Langda yambu sa lyáng ka nong lang hayu pong nan Di rem hayu do sa árong sa nong lang tek lang nyok lang phot be shong ka chyá do ke ma.

An panu re áreb zong sa a-ayok chyá se lang chyá ru'' non ma an ha nan lik'' lang liba kasa sa Di ''re a-lok ma-bon-na áyu shu ul bu go go bo sho''.

An big pong nan hadom rem álom liba :—

álong ádo sa ta-aya kab re kayum bo nyon na sare ho bo sa gong ka ma nen thomba an sare chakbure ásher kati net thab gam an kayu hadom ul bám mang gam an hado sa álom ka kayu ádo sa shu la a-lok mabon-ne.

Along tut are pong panu nan nyen lang hayum rem chyá libi dik ma an álong kana sa ta-aya kab ni bam ma an hadom áyum ka bo nyon shong gam an hado deb ka kasa sa lyáng la phet bo shong gam yong li hang sa álong hayu do katáb pong la lyang oba chyá lyot shong gam.

An álong olo duk átim lyang rem chyá lyot shong tet ka panu nan hado pandi kab deb ka ding duk nan duk vet ong mát shong ka ta-aya vet vim kon kaká an tagri vet la gyom kon-kaká mat lang chyá klong nyon ma.

An hayu pong pazok nan lot vung lang lot thi hang sa ore big long pong nan ore panu-kab. an lang da sa ta-aya kab pandi sa tandok ka Di kat zuk bi ma.

An Di re areb zong zuk, kang gam sakmat plong ka hyan nan zong gam an oba nan Ram lyang ka kya shong kachok kat gam an átet sa á hren ni hang gam, an fát nan la átet sa átho gam.

Along hayu pong na oba Di ka átet sa átim tambu mat lang chí'' zo mat lang zuk, zom kan lang á kyit ani sa bám kon ma an Lyáng ore re jambo-iho, yong Lima an álong bilong pong nan ore ryot kab an hado sa á-áya bam shong ka Di kat zuk be lang tho an álong hani nyet lyáng oba akyit sa ani mát lang chyá panu nun bám ma.

An kayu rong kab pong do la ik songte do la sak chingbám ma lyang ore ka átet sa áyum mor sa nin phira ni hang gam.

31-8-64